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**British Collecting of Ceramics for Tea Gatherings from Meiji Japan:
British Museum and Maidstone Museum Collections**

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Abstract

Museum collections of Japanese ceramics in Britain include numerous utensils for whipped tea (*matcha*) and steeped tea (*sencha*) gatherings along with diverse vessels for daily and special occasions collected from Meiji Japan. Who collected them and why, and how did these objects obtain value in Britain around the turn of the twentieth century and through the process of collecting? Tracing the international network of collecting this material through the Sir Augustus W. Franks (1826–1897) collection at the British Museum, London and the Hon. Henry Marsham (1845–1908) collection at the Maidstone Museum, Kent, this thesis explores the value making process for objects used for two types of tea in the 1860s–80s and the 1880s–1900s, respectively. Based on archival and collection surveys in Britain, Japan, and Europe, the values assigned to these teawares are identified as a collaborative product of negotiations of multiple contributors—objects, collectors, learned societies, mediators, institutions and audiences. Adopting Actor-Network theory, this research gives voice to objects and mediators who have been subordinated and ignored in the history of collecting. At the intersection of the development of museums in the U.K., and academic disciplines of the nineteenth century, modern tourism in Japan, and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the objects for tea collected by Franks and Marsham can now be recognized as the products of (inter)national, local, and personal heritage.

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Explanatory Notes

Japanese individual names are written in the order of surname and given name in the main texts and footnotes.

Abbreviations are used for the following names in the main chapters.

Abbreviation	Name
BGM	Bethnal Green Museum
BFAC	Burlington Fine Arts Club
ICO	International Congress of Orientalists
KHS	Kyoto Hinode Shimbun
MPG	Museum of Practical Geology
NAK	National Archives, Kew
OAG	Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens [German Society for Nature and Folklore of East Asia]
SKM	South Kensington Museum
SoA	Society of Antiquaries
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum

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Introduction

From the mid nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, British, European, and American collectors formed large collections of Japanese ceramics. While Japanese export porcelain enthused the public and the manufacturers who sought the new at international exhibitions, Japanese domestic ceramics—often antiques—also began to receive scholarly and aesthetic interest. These overseas collections demonstrate how the Japanese ceramic industry flourished in the late Edo (1603–1868) to Meiji (1868–1912) eras and enable us to study the varieties of ceramics made in Japan. Among ceramics made for the use of the Japanese, tea utensils gradually established a representational position in Japanese ceramic collections overseas. Acquired from Meiji Japan, Sir Augustus W. Franks’s (1826–1897) collection at the British Museum, London and the Hon. Henry Marsham’s (1845–1908) collection at the Maidstone Museum, Kent both feature Japanese domestic ceramics including a number of ceramic utensils for *matcha* (whipped tea) and *sencha* (steeped tea) gatherings.¹ *Matcha* or the whipped tea culture was originally derived from Song China and transformed into a Japanese style by the sixteenth century. From the eighteenth century onwards, *sencha*, Chinese Ming-style steeped tea, became appreciated in literati circles. *Sencha* peaked in popularity in the nineteenth century and gradually became popularised in daily life as well. Despite the cultural significance, *sencha* and objects for *sencha* tea gatherings have received inadequate attention in either art history or cultural history both in Japan and Britain. How did these seemingly obscure objects for tea acquire/lose value in British collections in the late nineteenth–beginning of the twentieth century?

¹ See Appendix A.

Although collecting Japanese things in the nineteenth century has often been discussed with reference to *Japonisme*, Japanese ceramics in Britain have floated between the boundaries of the Japanese Art, ‘Oriental’ ceramics, art fine and decorative, or ethnological material. In the mid-1850s, the term ‘ceramics’, adopted from the French and German words ‘for all kinds of Pottery’, entered common usage.² Fired clay was considered an attractive material in Victorian Britain that represented seemingly opposing concepts without conflict: technological advancement/nostalgic past, national and provincial identities, and exoticism. Ceramics had a unique position in Victorian material culture as a product industry, commodity, and antiquity. All categories, furthermore, were subjected to consumption, collection, and study.

The study of ceramics in nineteenth-century Britain emerged through the combination of the development of a modern ceramic industry and display culture, supported by the wealth of private collectors. British, European, Islamic, and East Asian ceramics were collected and studied in the growing flow of collectables and associated information in mid-nineteenth century Britain. Foreign-made ceramics were brought into Britain by political turmoil, colonization, trade, and world travel. Expeditions and excavations uncovered the unknown from both foreign lands and Britain’s own past. Besides the expanding fine and decorative art markets in nineteenth century Britain, the development of taxonomy, archaeology, ethnology, and anthropology also shaped the framework for positioning and understanding the value of cultural objects from non-European cultures.

² Museum of Ornamental Art. et al., *A Catalogue of the Museum of Ornamental Art at Marlborough House, Pall Mall: For the Use of Students and Manufacturers, and the Public.*, 5th ed. (London: Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode for H.M.S.O., 1853), 59.

This thesis explores the value making process for ceramics for tea gatherings from Meiji Japan through the agency of British collections formed in the 1870s–1910s, represented by the Franks and Marsham collections which are the most substantial. The reason for choosing Britain in this time frame as a starting point is, firstly, because the intensive collecting of teaware in diverse Japanese ceramics started in Britain earlier than in other countries as Franks' collection demonstrates. The British collecting of Japanese ceramics was not a mere example of curio collecting from a newly opened country nor a reflection of aesthetic fashion for Japanese things. Japanese tea ceramics now housed in British museums tell stories interwoven by complex layers of the continuity of the eighteenth century collecting which prepared the development of public museums, art market, and studies in world objects in the nineteenth century, the new initiative of private collectors and travellers in creating collections, and the Japanese promotion of their material culture. On the one hand, British collectors' didactic motives and strong diplomatic ties with Japan characterise an aspect of British collecting of Japanese ceramics. On the other hand, the process of their collecting also reveals the international dynamics of collecting Japanese material cultures, showing their competition and communication with French, American, and German collectors, scholars, and institutions. The Franks and Marsham collections were formed before the concept of a history of Japanese ceramics was established in Japan which would have helped to define their value. In consequence, their collections show the diversity of ceramic works including whipped tea and steeped tea utensils which modern Japanese collectors and museums have dismissed. The collecting histories of the two British collections therefore reveal different but intersecting paths to the study of Japanese ceramics developing in Japan.

Ceramics, Tea Culture, and Japanese Art

The relationship between Japanese ceramics and tea culture is normally discussed in the fields of the history of collecting Japanese Art, the modern history of tea culture, and the history of Japanese ceramics. By the 1890s, Japanese tea culture was a debatable topic for collectors of Japanese ceramics. Basil Hall Chamberlain's *Things Japanese*, a popular guidebook about Japan for travellers first published in 1890, introduces 'Tea Ceremonies' as one of the subjects which fascinates 'collectors of Japanese curios' the most.³ The opposing evaluations to tea aesthetics were represented by the 'tea taste' debate between James L. Bowes (1834–1899), the famous Japanese art collector in Liverpool and an American, Edward S. Morse (1838–1925), at the beginning of 1890s, in which the former promoted the beauty of decorative ware while the latter identified the Japanese taste in undecorated domestic teaware.⁴

Citing the dispute above, Joe Earle claims the British had a preference for decorative ceramics and an intolerance for items reflecting 'native Japanese taste'.⁵ Richard L. Wilson interprets their argument as a question of the validity of 'context' in the appreciation of Japanese ceramics among Western collectors.⁶ Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere contributed to the discussion raised by Earle and Wilson by contextualizing Franks's shifting focus in

³ Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Things Japanese; Being Notes on Various Subjects Connected with Japan* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1890), 333.

⁴ For the details of the discussion see, Richard L. Wilson, 'Tea Taste in the Era of Japonisme: A Debate', *Chanoyu Quarterly* 50 (1987): 23–39.

⁵ Joe Earle, 'The Taxonomic Obsession: British Collectors and Japanese Objects, 1852–1986', *Burlington Magazine* 128 (1986): 868–870.

⁶ Wilson, 'Tea Taste in the Era of Japonisme'.

collecting Japanese ceramics in the late 1870s from porcelain to stoneware and earthenware as an indirect forerunner of the tea taste debate.⁷

With respect to *Japonisme* or a fashion for Japanese things in the late nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, scholars argue that Japanese whipped teawares became models for western ceramics in the colour and technique of glazing and forms.⁸ Malcolm Haslam examines the growing interest in Japanese teaware in Britain and its connection to the development of Studio Pottery.⁹ The interpretation of teawares and their reception in Britain is an issue of aesthetic tastes, cultural authenticity and design reform. This thesis acknowledges their observations, but it has to be noted that steeped teawares were almost excluded in the discussion. While the significance of tea culture is understood as a concept, there is a lack of attention to changing tea cultures of the time and how and what values were attributed to the collection of diverse teawares.

Princess Akiko of Mikasa questioned why non-Japanese collectors dismissed *sencha* utensils and favoured whipped tea utensils in her PhD thesis.¹⁰ For the first time, Princess Akiko's

⁷ Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, 'Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826–1897) and James Lord Bowes (1834–1899): Collecting Japan in Victorian England', in *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits, Vol. VI*, by H. Cortazzi, ed. Hugh Cortazzi (Brill, 2007), 262–70.

⁸ Gisela Jahn, *Meiji Ceramics: The Art of Japanese Export Porcelain and Satsuma Ware 1868–1912* (Stuttgart: Arnoldsche, 2004), 61. Imai Yūko, *Tōgei no Japonisumu* (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 2016).

⁹ Malcolm Haslam, 'The Pursuit of Imperfection: The Appreciation of Japanese Tea-Ceremony Ceramics and the Beginning of the Studio-Pottery Movement in Britain', *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1850 – the Present*, no. 28 (2004): 148–71.

¹⁰ Princess Akiko of Mikasa, 'Collecting and Displaying "Japan" in Victorian Britain: The Case of the British Museum' (PhD diss, University of Oxford, 2009). See also Princess Akiko of Mikasa 彬子女王, 'Kaigai ni okeru Nihon zō no hasshin: Daiei Hakubutsukan wo chūshin to shite 海外における日本像の発信: 大英博物館を中心として', in *Sekai no shūshū: Ajia wo meguru hakubutsukan hakurankai kaigairyokō* 世界の蒐集: アジアをめぐる博物館・博覧会・海外旅行, ed. Itō Mamiko 伊藤真実子 and Muramatsu Kōichi 村松弘一 (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha 山川出版社, 2014), 98.

work shed light on the gap between the limited range of overseas collections and the diversity of what the Japanese used, produced, and appreciated then. She interprets the smaller proportion of *sencha* to *matcha* utensils in Franks's collection as a consequence of his partial understanding of Japanese arts during the early stage of the development of Japanese Art History in Britain.¹¹ This thesis in contrast evaluates the inclusion of *sencha* wares in British collections as a positive reflection of evolving world ceramics studies and discusses the role of both types of teawares from interdisciplinary perspectives.

Scholars of modern Japanese tea culture have noted the link between non-Japanese collecting of teaware and the revival of whipped tea culture in Japan apparent in the 1880s.¹² In the transitional period from pre-modern to the modern era, whipped tea schools suffered from the loss of patronage from the daimyo class due to the restructuring of social order by the Meiji restoration in 1868. The governmental policy of westernization also made the culture obsolete. However, while tea schools lost pupils in cities, they had support in rural areas.¹³ Some *kazoku*, former aristocrats with samurai and courtier origins, practised traditional whipped tea, which inspired self-made entrepreneurs to take up the practice by the 1880s.¹⁴ In 1877, a large scale tea gathering was organised to commemorate the deceased Gengensai

¹¹ Princess Akiko of Mikasa, 79.

¹² Kumakura Isao 熊倉功夫, 'Seiō sekai to sadō 西欧世界と茶道', in *Cha no bunka: sono sōgōteki kenkyū* 茶の文化 その総合的研究, ed. Moriya Takeshi 守屋毅, vol. 2 (Kyoto: Tankōsha 淡交社, 1981), 144.

¹³ Kumakura Isao 熊倉功夫, 'Gaisetsu kindai no chanoyu 概説 近代の茶の湯', in *Kindai 近代*, ed. Chanoyu Bunka Gakkai 茶の湯文化学会, *Kōza Nihon Chanoyu zenshi 講座日本茶の湯全史* 3 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan 思文閣出版, 2013), 6.

¹⁴ Taka Oshikiri, *Gathering for Tea in Modern Japan: Class, Culture and Consumption in the Meiji Period*, SOAS Studies in Modern and Contemporary Japan (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 45–55.

玄々齋 (1810–77), a tea master of the Urasenke school following the example of the eighty large tea gatherings in 1839 which he sponsored for the 250th anniversary of Rikyū's death.¹⁵

With the regained awareness of chanoyu, by the 1880s, Japanese leading industrialists and politicians started to collect Japanese art for tea gatherings in reaction to foreigners' collecting of Japanese art. The modern tea enthusiasts called *sukisha* enjoyed tea as a hobby.¹⁶ The word *sukisha* has its root with *suki* (like), and modern *sukisha* had a strong attachment to famous tea utensils rather than the tea.¹⁷ Christine Guth's research demonstrates that the chanoyu revived and practised by *sukisha* collectors functioned as the place for appreciating Japanese art around the turn of the twentieth century.¹⁸ Kumakura Isao has also pointed out that modern *sukisha* brought semiotic change to tea 'utensils' as arts and crafts.¹⁹

The 2010s observed a rising interest in the historiography of academic disciplines. Members of Tōji Danwakai, a ceramics study group in Tokyo, held regular meetings to discuss the formation of the field of Japanese ceramic studies with a focus on the Taishō (1912–1926) and early Shōwa (1926–1989) eras, analysing recorded lectures by Saikokai 彩壺会 (Coloured Jar Society), a Tokyo based hobbyist ceramics study group found in the Taisho

¹⁵ Christine Guth, *Art, Tea, and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 74.

¹⁶ Kumakura Isao 熊倉功夫, *Kindai sukisha no chanoyu 近代数奇者の茶の湯* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan 思文閣出版, 2017), 6–7, cited in Hayabusa Nagaharu 早房長治, *Murayama Ryōhei: shinbunshi wa motte Kōko no yoron o nosuru mono nari* 村山龍平: 新聞紙は以て江湖の輿論を載するものなり, *Mineruva Nihon hyōdensen ミネルヴァ日本評伝選* (Kyoto: Mineruva Shobō ミネルヴァ書房, 2018), 131.

¹⁷ Kumakura Isao, 'The Tea Ceremony and Collection: The Prehistory of Private Art Museums', *Senri Ethnological Studies* 54 (9 March 2001), 112.

¹⁸ Guth, *Art, Tea, and Industry*.

¹⁹ Kumakura, 'Gaisetsu kindai no chanoyu', 10.

period.²⁰ The Japan Society of Oriental Ceramics Studies' (Tōyō Tōji Gakkai) general assembly in 2011 was also themed as a retrospective of 100 years of ceramic study. A range of studies presented in both societies demonstrated that the debate over tea taste among foreigners was internalised in the development of Japanese ceramic studies by the emergence of learned societies to study ceramics not restricted by canons of tea. For example, Kida Takuya categorised four main approaches to East Asian ceramics in Japanese scholarship from the Meiji to Taishō eras: industrial history written by historians as official reports for international and domestic exhibitions, art historical and archaeological research by museum professionals, *sukisha*'s cataloguing of important whipped tea utensils, and learned societies for appreciating ceramics apart from tea taste.²¹ Kida concluded that the last cohort, led by key figures Okuda Seiichi 奥田誠一 (1883–1955) and Ōkōchi Masatoshi 大河内正敏 (1878–1952) prepared the foundation for the modern academic discipline of ceramic studies in Japan.²² In 2019, Seung Yong Sang contributed to the discussion on the formation of the twentieth century Japanese ceramics studies by analysing the use and contexts of key terminologies *shumi* (hobby), *kanshō* (appreciation), and *tōyō* (alternative word to Orient), which characterised the development of the discipline.²³

²⁰ As one of the members of Tōji Danwakai, I reviewed 'Aoki Mokubei' (1921), a recorded lecture on Aoki Mokubei given to Saiko-kai by Ōkōchi Masatoshi at Tokyo University of the Arts, 4 February 2012.

²¹ Kida Takuya 木田拓也, 'Ōkōchi Masatoshi to Okuda Seiichi: Tōjiki kenkyūkai, Saikokai, Tōyō tōji kenkyūjo: Taishō ki wo chūshin ni 大河内正敏と奥田誠一 陶磁器研究会/彩壺会/東洋陶磁研究所: 大正期を中心に [Ōkōchi Masatoshi and Okuda Seiichi: The Tōjiki Kenkyūkai, Saikokai and Tōyo Tōji Kenkyūjo: Focusing on the Taisho Period]', *Tōyō tōji 東洋陶磁* 42 (2013): 15–35.

²² Kida, 30

²³ Seung Yeon Sang, 'Okuda Seiichi and the New Language of Ceramics in Taisho (1912–1926) Japan', in *Ceramics and Modernity in Japan*, ed. Meghan Jones and Louise Allison Cort (New York: Routledge, 2019), 128–43.

Most of the research treating the relationship between the history of ceramics and tea taste in modern Japan focuses on the activities of collecting and research after the 1880s. They highlight those of the Taishō period, whose legacies are well documented and visible in the present. On the contrary, what happened during the Meiji era was left behind as immature and underdevelopment. This also corresponds to the inadequate attention for steeped tea culture in the Meiji era and its connection to Japanese art history as well as the history of ceramics.

At the end of the Edo period to the Meiji Restoration, *sencha* enjoyed great popularity with the support of Meiji government officials who advocated Confucianism.²⁴ In the 1870s, steeped tea even enhanced political power as pointed out in recent research by Takagi Hiroshi.²⁵ In February 1877, while visiting Tōdaiji temple, the Meiji Emperor cut a historic aromatic tree called *Ranjatai*, which was only cut by Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1435–1490) and Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582). This wood had been stored in Shōsōin, the treasury of the temple. He then burned the fragment of the aromatic wood in Tōnan'in, a small temple in the Tōdaiji. The venue of the incense burning was prepared in steeped tea style, which was depicted by Tomioka Tessai 富岡鉄斎 (1836–1924), the most famous literati painter in Japan.²⁶ *Sencha* was also favoured among the industrialist-collectors of the Meiji era. Notably, Sumitomo Kichizaemon Tomoito 住友吉左衛門友純 (Shunsui 春翠, 1865–1926) and Yamanaka Kichirobei 山中吉郎兵衛 (Shunkō 簞篁, 1847–1917), the founder of

²⁴ Hayashiya Tatsusaburō 林屋辰三郎 ed., *Koto no kindai* 古都の近代, Kyoto no rekishi 京都の歴史 8 (Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin 學藝書林, 1975), 246.

²⁵ Takagi Hiroshi 高木博志, 'Tomioka Tessai ga kenshōsuru kokushi: Meikyō no seishin wo geijutsu ni gūsu 富岡鉄斎が顕彰する国史: 名教の精神を芸術に寓す', *The Shirin, the Journal of History*, 31 January 2018, 150–188.

²⁶ Takagi, 166. Tomioka Tessai 富岡鉄斎, *Sakai ken anzaisho display scroll* 堺県行在所御飾付図巻, colour on paper, 1877, 33.7 x 643.4 cm, Arakawa Toyozō Museum 荒川豊蔵資料館, Kani.

Yamanaka & Co. passionately collected Chinese bronzes to display at their gatherings for steeped tea.²⁷ At the same time, by the Meiji era, the use of teapots for steeped tea was also adopted in everyday life.

Scholarly interest in new systems, frameworks, or concepts developed in modern Japan often overshadows what (dis) continued from the pre-modern era to today. This may be a part of the reason for the lack of observation about the diverse tea cultures during the transitional period. In modern Japanese tea history, industrialist *sukisha*, female education for the girls from high society, and revived *iemoto*/tea schools have been discussed as new advocates for the whipped tea culture in the Meiji and Taishō eras. Kumakura argues that the modern Japanese whipped tea culture re-identified itself as a hobby for men, good manners for women, and philosophy for tea schools.²⁸ This new mode of tea culture has been central for the interest in scholars of modern history and anthropology of Japan.²⁹

Linked to the revival of whipped tea, *sencha* has been left behind in modern art history until recently and criticised for its Sinophile nature, playfulness, freedom and de-centrality or the absence of strict norms, which are opposite to what whipped tea culture aimed in the modern era. This is not irrelevant from the nationalistic attitude of writing Japanese art history of the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century. For similar reasons, literati paintings were

²⁷ Tabata Jun 田畑潤, 'Sencha: Chūgoku kodōki to Nihon Chūgoku no bunjin bunka 煎茶—中国古銅器と日本・中国の文人文化—', *Aichi ken Tōji Shiryōkan kenkyū kiyō* 愛知県陶磁資料館研究紀要, 2016, 54–5.

²⁸ Kumakura, 'Gaisetsu kindai no chanoyu'. Kumakura Isao 熊倉功夫, 'Nihon yūgei shi jokō: Sukisha to chanoyu 日本遊芸史序考—数寄者と茶の湯—', in *Yūgei bunka to dentō* 遊芸文化と伝統, ed. Kumakura Isao (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2003), 23.

²⁹ For example, Kristin Surak, 'Making "Japanese" Tea', in *Making Japanese Heritage*, ed. Christoph Brumann and Rupert A. Cox, Japan Anthropology Workshop Series (London: Routledge, 2010), 21–30.

excluded from modern Japanese art history until the Taishō era despite the popularity. Wu Weifeng suggests internal and external reasons for the decline of literati paintings in the mid-Meiji era.³⁰ The popularity of literati paintings peaked by the 1880s, which led to mannerism and a radical drop in the quality.³¹ The contemporary literati paintings were theoretically situated as being opposed to the artistic revivalism in Japanese paintings to encourage Kanō and Tosa school paintings. Tokyo-based art historians institutionally excluded literati paintings from mainstream modern Japanese art in the late 1880s.³² In the famous lecture ‘Bijutsu shinsetsu’ (‘The True Theory of Art’) of May 1882 for Ryūchikai 龍池会 (Dragon Pond Society), the precursor of Japan Art Association, Ernest Fenollosa attacked literati paintings as the obstacle in the development of Japanese paintings.³³ Founded in 1889, Tokyo Art School, the first governmental institution in art education had no professorships for the artists in literati painting.³⁴ However, as Inaga Shigemi observes, this genre recovered as a mainstream Japanese art in the 1910s after being applied the evaluation scheme for the Post-Impressionist Western paintings, which became fashionable in Japan at that time.³⁵ Wu also points out that the popular appreciation among the public and painters outside large cities prepared the revival.³⁶

³⁰ Wu Weifeng 吳衛峰, ‘Naitō Konan no nanga (bunjinga) ron eno ichi kōsatsu: Meiji Taishō no jidai haikai tonon kanren wo chūshin ni 内藤湖南の南画(文人画)論への一考察—明治・大正の時代背景との関連を中心に’, *Tōhoku kōeki bunka daigaku sōgōkenkyū ronshū* 東北公益文科大学総合研究論集, no. 14 (2008): 1–26.

³¹ Wu, 3.

³² Wu, 2–5.

³³ Fenollosa Ernest and Ōmori Ichū 大森惟中, *Bijutsu shinsetsu* 美術真説 (Tokyo: Ryūchikai 龍池会, 1882), 4.

³⁴ Wu, ‘Naitō Konan no nanga (bunjinga) ron eno ichi kōsatsu’, 5.

³⁵ Inaga Shigemi 稲賀繁美, ‘Bunjinga no shūen to saikakusei: Tomioka Tessai bannen no bunjinga nanga no kokusai hyōka 文人画の終焉と再覚醒—富岡鉄斎晩年の文人画・南画の国際評価’ *Aida* 86 (2003): 35.

³⁶ Wu, ‘Naitō Konan no nanga (bunjinga) ron eno ichi kōsatsu’, 9.

From the 1990s art historians raised the issue of continuity from the pre-modern to modern eras. To counter the emphasis of discontinuity of the pre-modern era, Henry Smith instead discussed how the Edo period prepared art history, art market, art education, and exhibitions of the modern era.³⁷ This re-examination of the cultural continuity was a reaction to the so-called ‘New Art History of the Meiji era’ of the 1990s which examined the development of the modern ‘system of Art’ from the beginning of the Meiji era.³⁸ Kinoshita Naoyuki has shed light on the arts which had been excluded from the history of ‘Art’ defined by modern ‘systems’ such as governmental and institutional policies.³⁹ Edited by Kinoshita, *Bijutsu wo sasaeru mono* [*What Makes Art Possible*] (2005) approached objects, not from labels and classifications but the mechanism to create, treat, and narrate arts.⁴⁰

History of Collecting

Revisiting the collecting process of Japanese art allows us to observe such mechanisms of creating meanings for objects. The history of collecting is closely related to art history but with its applications of anthropological methodologies, can demonstrate the alternative history of objects in a series of interactions among mediators and objects themselves. The twenty-first century history of collecting has been enriched by turning attention to the movement of people and objects. Guth discussed Charles Longfellow’s collecting as a part of a holistic experience of travelling in Japan along with the afterlife of collected memory and

³⁷ Henry Smith, ‘Edo kōki no “bijutsu seido” 19 seiki bijutsu shi no tameni 江戸後期の「美術制度」十九世紀美術史のために [The ‘Art System’ of Late Tokugawa Japan: Expanding the Nineteenth Century of Japanese Art]’, trans. Satō Morihiro 佐藤 守弘, *Bijutsu Forum* 21 1 (1999), 126.

³⁸ Smith, 126.

³⁹ Kinoshita Naoyuki 木下直之, *Bijutsu to iu misemono: Aburaya chaya no jidai* 美術という見世物: 油絵茶屋の時代 (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1993). Kinoshita Naoyuki 木下直之, ed., *Bijutsu wo sasaeru mono* 美術を支えるもの, Kōza Nihon bijutsushi 講座日本美術史 6 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai 東京大学出版会, 2005), 3.

⁴⁰ Kinoshita, ed., *Bijutsu wo sasaeru mono*, 5.

objects in the context of the U.S.⁴¹ Ting Chang studied French collectors' collecting/travelling in East Asia for the formation of French collections of Chinese and Japanese arts and situated them within the political values of the art of the East in France.⁴² Maya Jasanoff illustrated multinational collectors in India from the eighteenth–nineteenth century and disclosed the hybridity of collecting as well as French-British competition over collecting, studying, and conserving the Orient.

The meaning and values of objects are created intentionally and unintentionally in multiple phases. Kate Hill has described how souvenirs resist the fixation of meanings and narrate a set of meanings of the travel which they accumulated, following Lucie Carreau's discussion of 'contamination' in ethnographic objects, which is linked to the plural biographies of people and things through the process of collecting.⁴³ Collected objects have their own biographies connected to the different times when they were made, used, and collected, even if they are excluded in mainstream art history.⁴⁴ Such multiple positions in the examination of object biographies have enriched provenance research of museum collections as Jane Milosch and Nick Pearce's edited volume, *Collecting and Provenance: A Multidisciplinary Approach*

⁴¹ Christine Guth, *Longfellow's Tattoos: Tourism, Collecting, and Japan* (Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press, 2004).

⁴² Ting Chang, *Travel, Collecting, and Museums of Asian Art in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, *The Histories of Material Culture and Collecting, 1700–1950* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013).

⁴³ Kate Hill, 'Souvenirs: Narrative Overseas Violence in the Late Nineteenth Century', in *Britain and the Narration of Travel in the Nineteenth Century: Texts, Images, Objects*, ed. Kate Hill (Farnham, England: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2015), 175. Lucie Carreau, 'Individual, Collective and Institutional Biographies: The Beasley Collection of Pacific Artefacts', in *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities*, ed. Kate Hill (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2012), 213.

⁴⁴ Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall, 'The Cultural Biography of Objects', *World Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (1999): 169–78.

(2019) illustrates.⁴⁵ Therefore, the study of collecting is a useful method to fill the gap of understudied culture and objects.

Collecting Japanese ceramics in Victorian Britain has been discussed mainly by focussing on the national museums in London. Curators in charge of Japanese art collections at the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum examined their collecting histories of Japanese ceramics and positioned them in their institutional histories.⁴⁶ Outside the two main national museums in the capital, Olive Checkland situated the locus of collecting not only in London but also in Liverpool and Glasgow.⁴⁷ However, collecting activities of Japanese art at provincial museums received little attention.

Recent scholarship on collecting, however, has shifted its focus from organisations to agency and networks. For example, in 2015, Rousmaniere introduced the unpublished primary source held at the British Museum to uncover Franks's network of the acquisition of Japanese ceramics.⁴⁸ In 2017, Stacey Pierson positioned Franks in the activity of private collectors at

⁴⁵ Jane Milosch and Nick Pearce, *Collecting and Provenance: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019).

⁴⁶ For example, Anna Jackson, 'Imagining Japan: The Victorian Perception and Acquisition of Japanese Culture', *Journal of Design History* 5, no. 4 (1992): 245–56. Lawrence Smith, 'The Art and Antiquities of Japan', in *A. W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum*, ed. Marjorie Caygill and John Cherry (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1997), 262–71. Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, 'A. W. Franks, N. Ninagawa and the British Museum: Collecting Japanese Ceramics in Victorian Britain', *Orientalism* 33, no. 2 (2002): 26–34. Rupert Faulkner and Anna Jackson, 'The Meiji Period in South Kensington', in *Meiji No Takara: Treasures of Imperial Japan*, ed. O. R. Impey, Malcolm Fairley, and Joe Earle, vol. 1: Selected Essays, Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Japanese Art (London: Kibo Foundation, 1995), 152–95.

⁴⁷ Olive Checkland, *Japan and Britain After 1859: Creating Cultural Bridges* (London: Routledge, 2003).

⁴⁸ Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, 'Kuni no tame no shūshū: A. W. Furankusu to Daiei Hakubutsukan shozō Nihon tōjiki korekushon no keisei (1875–1880 nen wo chūshin ni) 国のための蒐集: A. W. フランク スと大英博物館所蔵日本陶磁器コレクションの形成 (1875–1880年を中心に) [Collecting for the Nation, A. W. Franks and the Creation of the

the Burlington Fine Arts Club.⁴⁹ This dissertation is going to advance the argument on Franks's collecting by examining his archives and the networks in private spheres.

In the field of art market studies, there has been increasing scholarship on department stores and dealers who sold Japanese products, articles, curios, and arts to foreigners.⁵⁰ This is an important development when looking at collecting histories not only from the collectors' side. This research demonstrates how Japanese objects were displayed and sold in the commercial market in Japan and overseas. However, in the earlier formation of Japanese ceramic collections in Europe, minor dealers played an important role in dealing with objects. Thus, along with the big-name dealers, the study of small dealers and mediators should be encouraged.

Another significant area of study relating to the value making process for objects from the past is the re-evaluation of antiquarianism. Until Arnald Momigliano (1908–1987)'s 'Ancient

British Museum's Japanese Ceramic Collections, c. 1875–1880]', *Studies in Japonisme*, 2015, 27–36.

⁴⁹ Stacey Pierson, *Private Collecting, Exhibitions, and the Shaping of Art History in London: The Burlington Fine Arts Club*, *The Histories of Material Culture and Collecting, 1700–1950*. (Basingstoke: Taylor & Francis Ltd, 2017).

⁵⁰ Sonia Ashmore, 'Liberty's Orient: Taste and Trade in the Decorative Arts in Late Victorian and Edwardian Britain 1875–1914' (PhD diss, The London Institute Camberwell College of Arts, 2001). Sonia Ashmore, 'Lasenby Liberty (1843–1917) and Japan', in *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, ed. Hugh Cortazzi and Japan Society, vol. 4 (London: Routledge, 2002), 142–53, 431–32. Julia Sapin, 'Merchandising Art and Identity in Meiji Japan: Kyoto Nihonga Artists' Designs for Takashimaya Department Store, 1868–1912', *Journal of Design History* 17, no. 4 (2004): 317–36. Hiroko T. McDermott, 'Meiji Kyoto Textile Art and Takashimaya', *Monumenta Nipponica* 65, no. 1 (2010): 37–88. Ōta Tomoki 太田智己, 'Kindai Kyoto ni okeru bijutsu kōgeihin no "RaiKyō gaikokujin muke" yushutsu 近代京都における美術工芸品の「来京外国人向け」輸出 [The 'export' of artistic crafts to foreigners visiting Kyoto in the modern period]', *Bijutsushi* 59, no. 2 (March 2010): 407–23. Yamamoto Masako, *Karamonoya kara bijutsushō e: Kyōto ni okeru bijutsu shijō wo chūshin ni 唐物屋から美術商へ：京都における美術市場を中心に* (Kyoto: Kōyō Shobō 晃洋書房, 2010). Masako Yamamoto Maezaki, 'Innovative Trading Strategies for Japanese Art', in *Acquiring Cultures*, ed. Bénédicte Savoy, Charlotte Guichard, and Christine Howald (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2018), 223–38.

History and the Antiquarian' (1950), antiquarianism had been underestimated for its amateurism that is often contrasted with the professionalism of modern science. However, recent scholarship, notably that by Peter N. Miller in the historiography of material culture, positively evaluates antiquarianism for the development of modern disciplines such as art history, archaeology, anthropology, and sociology.⁵¹ The historiographical observation of the evolution in the approach toward objects from the periods before academic disciplines had been established enables us to acknowledge the mechanism of transition and continuation of the ways of seeing, which is not possible to find by only assessing the histories continuing to the present. Recent scholarship on antiquarianism expanded the times and regions encompassed in the discussion.⁵² This thesis will contribute to this field by examining British and Japanese antiquarianism as a shared catalyst to create values for Japanese ceramics in the nineteenth century.

My research contributes to the interdisciplinary approach to the study of museum collections, which intersects with the history of collecting, Art History, art market studies, Museum Studies, Victorian Studies, and Japanese Studies. Based on archival and collection surveys and fieldwork in Britain, Japan and Europe, the present study explores the connections and impact of the relations of things, people and disciplines that had not been associated together. This research questions how Japanese ceramics for tea connected with the knowledge of Japan as well as other types of ceramics, antiquities, and products collected from all over the world in the late nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century. This approach, beyond

⁵¹ Peter N. Miller, ed., *Momigliano and Antiquarianism: Foundations of the Modern Cultural Sciences*, CCS 5 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press; In association with the UCLA Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 2007). Peter N. Miller, *History and Its Objects: Antiquarianism and Material Culture since 1500* (Ithaca, U.S.: Cornell University Press, 2017).

⁵² Alain Schnapp et al., eds., *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives, Issues & Debates* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013).

the boundary of disciplines, will stimulate scholarly discussion on collections of not only Japanese things but also those of other countries which were formed and displayed in the foundational period in the development of modern museums.

Another aspect to which this research contributes is the critical examination of the boundary of local, national, and international history and the dichotomy of the public and private. This thesis features lesser-known local and private agents as powerful value creators in the art market, diplomacy, and heritage politics who had an impact on national, international and institutional activities of consuming, collecting, and studying Japanese works of art. This bottom-up approach encourages inclusive research as opposed to the traditional top-down narrative in the historiography of Japanese art history and history of collecting, where great collectors, famous dealers, and renowned connoisseurs are regarded to have shaped the understanding of the arts and cultures as the authority.

Building on the scholarship of historiographical framing of Japanese ceramics in relation to tea culture, this thesis explores the mechanism of how cultural remains made of ceramics produced values in the process of collecting, and in turn, accumulated value. To understand the whole picture of the development of taste and scholarship on ceramics, it is crucial to carefully observe what continued and transitioned from the Meiji era to Taishō era. To address overlooked material culture and assess the meanings of them, this research looks at the process of making values for tea and its objects via British collecting from Meiji Japan. In the Meiji era, there were active exchanges between Japan and abroad in objects, knowledge, and sharing memories. Through private and institutional collecting, British collections functioned as the crossing points of Japanese art history and British material culture in

international networks of dealing, presenting, appreciating, and researching East Asian ceramics.

While national institutions, government officials and policies shaped some aspects of collecting, there were marginal areas where obscure agents contributed to form collections and understanding about objects. Therefore, this research looks at not only a national museum collection in Britain but also a provincial collection and compares and contrasts the similarities and differences. Without visiting Japan, Franks collected Japanese objects for the British Museum via his extensive international network through diplomats, scholars, collectors and dealers. On the other hand, Marsham collected Japanese ceramics for the Maidstone Museum while staying in Kyoto with the assistance of local acquaintances. By exploring the hidden agents of collecting in their networks, this research foregrounds the role of objects, place, and mediators to produce multiple meanings for Japanese tea ceramics. The analysis of both whipped tea and steeped tea illuminate an understudied aspect of tea culture. This empirical observation contributes to our understanding of how the values of Japanese tea ceramics evolved in intercultural exchange before Japanese ceramic history was established as an academic discipline in Japan after the Taishō era.

The study of collecting will show fluid and plural meanings of objects created by different agents involved in the collecting. This could be a limitation if only we seek some original or native meaning of objects in Japan of the past. However, this thesis regards the multiple interpretative processes as essential procedures to transfer objects from the past to the present, from one place to another or more. Rather, this study deciphers values attached to objects in different stages and how the objects embodied and lost meanings.

Methodology

This thesis adopts Actor-Network Theory (ANT) to trace the value making process for Japanese ceramic collections. ANT is an analytical method that can be used to ‘treat everything in the social and natural worlds as continuously generated effect of the webs of relations within which they are located’.⁵³ This strictly empirical approach describes how a ‘materially heterogeneous’ network functions rather than explaining why.⁵⁴

There are three reasons to use ANT as a critical methodology for this research. Firstly, ANT has strength in questioning something taken for granted by describing the elements of networks as ‘an effect’.⁵⁵ ANT’s critical approach of analysing structured entities as a network effect is a way to counter a grand narrative in Art History, including a trend like *Japonisme*. Secondly, ANT’s equal treatment of individuals and organisations, humans and non-humans encourages observation of the role of unspoken or overlooked elements in the network.⁵⁶ This approach has a drawback in the inclusion of endless minute components in the scope of analysis. However, it enables the consideration of subtle nuances and hidden connections between agents that would otherwise go unnoticed. Thirdly, from the early stage of the application of ANT, knowledge was the central topic among researchers.⁵⁷ Through

⁵³ John Law, ‘Actor Network Theory and Material Semiotics’, in *The New Blackwell Companion to Social Theory*, ed. Bryan S. Turner, Blackwell Companions to Sociology (Chichester, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 141.

⁵⁴ Law, 144.

⁵⁵ John Law, ‘Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network: Ordering, Strategy, and Heterogeneity’, *Systems Practice* 5, no. 4 (August 1992): 379–93, republished by the Centre for Science Studies, Lancaster University, 2003, accessed 4 August 2020, <http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/papers/Law-Notes-on-ANT.pdf>. Marta B. Calás and Linda Smircich, ‘Past Postmodernism? Reflections and Tentative Directions’, *The Academy of Management Review* 24, no. 4 (1999), 663. Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, Clarendon Lectures in Management Studies. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁵⁶ Law, ‘Actor Network Theory and Material Semiotics’, 147.

⁵⁷ Law, ‘Actor Network Theory and Material Semiotics’, 143–144.

ANT, knowledge is interpreted as ‘a matter of material’ and ‘a matter of ordering’.⁵⁸ For collecting, materials and ordering are the central matters as well. Collecting also produces knowledge as a result of the activity. Therefore, the analysis through ANT is suitable for the inclusive study of collecting.

Following the way of thinking from ANT, this thesis examines collecting as a heterogenetic activity in which a collection of objects is formed through a network of people, ideas, materials, and place. Accordingly, the most important terms in this thesis are defined as follows: a collector is the main actor in collecting in terms of paying money for selected objects, organising them, communicating their meaning via media such as publications and display, but is an element of a collecting network along with other agents. As John Law claims an agency is a network, the collector is also a network comprising of a human body with social roles and connections to people, ideas, and other organisations.⁵⁹ A collection is a temporal product of a network of collecting, comprising of objects and their values (material, personal, institutional, historical, local, intellectual, commercial, etc). Objects form networks with their material and connections to people and place, making values for the collection. As long as the collection exists, it continues to create new networks. Thus, the value is generated and degenerated over time. The value of an object is an effect of the network where the object is located. All values are thus empirically observed through the analysis of a network of collecting.

Locating the collector, dealers, mediators, objects, spaces—everything involved in collecting—as elements of collective agents of collecting, their network is described in order

⁵⁸ Law, ‘Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network’, 2.

⁵⁹ Law, ‘Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network’, 3–4.

to analyse it as a device of creating values as a whole. This holistic approach not only features who or what was involved but how they interacted in a network to create meanings. It enables the discussion of non-human actors—teawares, objects, spectacles, performance, and places that objects originated from, transferred to, and were exhibited at in the process of collecting as active agents, which are often under-discussed in the research of people and idea such as of collectors, dealers, classification of objects in exhibitions. In turn, objects for tea are analysed as active agents which create meaning for the collectors, mediators, the host museums, and the audience.

This approach might look similar to the biographical approach discussed in Arjun Appadurai's edited work *Social Life of Things* (1986).⁶⁰ Appadurai distinguishes its two dimensions: 'cultural biography of things' and 'social history of things'.⁶¹ The former concept developed by Igor Kopytoff is temporal identity and a series of identities of specific objects formed by the object's movement between different contexts.⁶² The latter is the biography of a long term flow and on a larger scale for certain 'types' of things.⁶³ The accumulation of small cultural biographies of things led to the formation of their 'social history'.⁶⁴ However, what ANT makes unique as an analytical tool is that it stresses how an object works in connection with other agents. Therefore, through applying ANT as a primary methodology for this thesis, the research can expect to understand not only what an object

⁶⁰ Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the the Politics of Value', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai, 11. print (Ethnohistory workshop, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986), 3–63.

⁶¹ Appadurai, 'Introduction', 33.

⁶² Appadurai, 33. Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai, 1986th ed. (Ethnohistory workshop, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986), 64–91.

⁶³ Appadurai, 33.

⁶⁴ Appadurai, 37.

means in certain contexts but also how objects were involved in the creative process of making values. In addition, ANT refuses to accept the concept ‘social’ and discomposes what is called social as a network composed by specific individuals, organisations, and objects. The ANT approach is consistent in doubting the a priori and regards everything as a temporal effect.

Collections, Archives, and Fieldwork

In order to describe and explore the process of value making, this research is primarily based on empirical studies of Japanese ceramics in the Augustus W. Franks collection and the Henry Marsham collection and their archives at the British Museum, London and Maidstone Museums, Kent, respectively. Besides the ceramic collections, both museums have records of acquisitions and contexts which enable us to understand how objects came into their collections. The use of archives in art historical research is increasing as a powerful resource for revealing previously unnoticed transactions and complex networks around objects, as Lynn Catterson’s recent edited volume *Florence, Berlin and Beyond: Late Nineteenth-Century Art Markets and their Social Networks* illustrates.⁶⁵

Franks’ collection of Japanese ceramics is under the care of the Japan section, Department of Asia, the British Museum. From 2015 to 2019, I had the opportunity of working on the collection as a volunteer of the Museum. The Franks archive at the Japan section has also received scholarly attention for the information on Japanese and international agents who impacted his collecting of Japanese ceramics. From September 2017, I have been involved in the digitisation and archiving project for Franks’s archive and a part of the William Gowland

⁶⁵ Lynn Catterson, ed., *Florence, Berlin and Beyond: Late Nineteenth-Century Art Markets and Their Social Networks* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020).

(1842–1922) archive held at the Japan section, instructed by Dr Matsuba Ryōko. The type of documents from the archives includes correspondence, bills, notes, sketches, references and contracts. The Franks archive has been handed down to the curators of his future generations. The archive was integrated into other curatorial archives in a total volume of around three cupboard boxes. An envelope which was possessed by R. L. Hobson (1872–1941) was used to contain documents of Franks's. The envelope itself may be better categorised as a Hobson archive. However, the relation between the contents in the Franks Archive and the container in the Hobson archive is seamlessly connected. Franks collected various arts from all over the world, lent them and was involved in organising exhibitions and publishing about them. Therefore, exhibition catalogues and his contributed texts are also taken into account to understand the locus of Japanese objects in his collection.

Part of the Marsham collection has been on display at the Japanese gallery of the Maidstone Museum along with other collections, but much of it is in storage. I conducted surveys of the ceramic collection and his archive from 2016 to 2019. Unlike Franks, Marsham had direct experience in Japan, which is reflected in the different type of archive in the Maidstone Museum. Besides the handwritten catalogues of his collection, he also donated albums of photography and paintings. These lively archival documents and works revealed his unique context of travelling/collecting in Japan. To trace the institutionalising of his collection in the provincial museum, this research also refers to the annual reports written by J. H. Allchin, the curator and librarian of the Maidstone Museum, Victoria Library and Bentrif Art Gallery, published by the Maidstone Council. Marsham served as a director for India Rubber Gutta-Percha and Telegraph Works Company Limited. Business meeting minutes of the company in the London Metropolitan Archives were examined to find out his industrial interest and connection with Japan. To observe Marsham's activities in and outside Japan, I surveyed

correspondences from Ernest Satow to Marsham in the National Archives, Kew. Satow's 23 private correspondences during 1894 and 1907 cover topics ranging from international issues to their personal lives.⁶⁶ Marsham's family documents were also surveyed at Kent Archives for further understanding of his life and his family.

Discussing British collecting does not exclude multinational agencies but involves various international exchanges in academia, collectors' communities, market, gifting, letters, and more. This research rather challenges the usual emphasis in the discourse of collecting on the country of the collector. In 2017 and 2018, I conducted fieldwork in Japan and France based on the preliminary result of surveys in the U.K.⁶⁷

In Japan, I organised an archival and literature survey at Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties, Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, National Diet Library, Kyoto Prefectural Library, Kyoto Archives, and Yokohama Archives of History. For the comparative study of Japanese ceramics in Britain, I examined comparable collections at the museum of the Kyoto Institute of Technology, Sennyūji temple, and the Kiyomizu Rokubei family collection, all in Kyoto. I also visited the places linked to important agents of collecting, which enabled me to encounter the hidden collections and information otherwise unknown. In particular, the visit and stay at Asakichi inn, Ise and Miyako Hotel, Kyoto, where Marsham stayed in 1882 and in the 1900s, enabled me to deepen the understanding of the geography and history of the place and to encounter the

⁶⁶ Private letters from Ernest Mason Satow to Hon. Henry Marsham, 27 June 1894–5 May 1907, PRO30/33/11/11, National Archives, Kew (NAK). In the archive, there is an envelope sent to Satow on 25 August 1908 after Marsham's death. Recently, these letters were published in Ian C. Ruxton, ed., *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters, Volume II: The Satow-Gubbins Correspondence and Satow's Letters to Hon. H. Marsham* (Lulu.com, 2019).

⁶⁷ I conducted fieldwork in Japan on 27 October–27 November 2017 and 26 June–31 July 2018, and in France in September 2018.

accommodation's collections of Japanese ceramics displayed in the buildings. Due to the connection between Franks and a French critic Philippe Burty (1830–1890) suggested in a letter from Satow, I researched Burty's collection notes, correspondences, and newspaper and journal article clips mainly of the 1870s–80s at the National Museum of Asian Arts - Guimet, Paris.

Structure of this Thesis

This thesis is composed of three parts. The first three chapters examine Franks' collection of Japanese ceramics in the macro network of collecting objects of the past from around the world. Chapters four to six explore the Marsham collection from the micro-network of collecting Japanese ceramics in Kyoto and Maidstone. Chapter seven discusses a wider network of collecting in Britain that connects and disconnects Franks and Marsham's collecting networks.

To open up the discussion on the values of teaware in Britain collected in Meiji Japan, Chapter one explores the different identities of Japanese teaware from the 1860s to 1880s Britain. This chapter examines how Japanese whipped tea and stepped teawares were contextualised by Franks based on his publications, *Oriental Porcelain and Pottery* (1876, 1878) and *Japanese Pottery* (1880). His Japanese ceramic collection is then analysed in the display contexts at the South Kensington Museum and the British Museum in the late 1870s and 80s, respectively. The position of Japanese ceramics shifted from a comparative material to ethnography, for which tea utensils had an impact on the transition.

In Chapter two, the development of Franks's collection and his idea of Japanese teaware are analysed in the development of national museums, knowledge-making of the East in the

rising field of Oriental Studies from the 1860s, and Victorian antiquarianism. This chapter argues that the linkage of academic, national and private sectors altogether worked to interpret teaware transferred from Meiji Japan. His involvement in the first International Congress in Oriental Studies is featured as a hidden force of understanding and exhibiting Japanese objects. His antiquarianism and that of his contemporaries are addressed as an overarching attitude towards material culture of the past including Japanese ceramics.

Chapter three applies network analysis to the forming of Franks' collection of Japanese ceramics and the knowledge of Japanese teaware in the 1870s–80s based on his archive in the Japanese section, Department of Asia, the British Museum. Franks's direct connection with British diplomats, dealers, officers, Japanese students and learned societies are discussed as the threads that weaved together the values of ceramics for tea gatherings. This chapter demonstrates that value making was not only initiated by the collector but also the collaborative process with private agents intentionally and unintentionally.

Chapters four to six shed a light on the less known but highly significant Japanese ceramic collection at the Maidstone Museum, Kent, collected by Marsham. Chapter four maps out Marsham's unique network of collecting via his business, diplomatic and travel connections to Japan, which enabled him to collect teaware directly in Japan in the 1900s. This chapter foregrounds unexpected agents revealed in Marsham's travel albums and his archive at the Maidstone Museum, namely, dealers, potters, and hotels in Higashiyama, Kyoto.

Chapter five examines how Japanese agents and the place of collecting functioned to create values for teaware in Kyoto in the 1900s, where Marsham stayed and collected Japanese ceramics. Trade, diplomacy and tourism during and after the Russo-Japanese war are

analysed as key forces to form the mutual space for the foreign and the local, which facilitated the interaction between the collector and his supporters of collecting. Higashiyama is observed as a place of continuing the revived tea cultures, whose memories are carried within his collection.

Chapter six observes how the transfer of Marsham's collection from Kyoto to Maidstone transformed the values of the objects. His collection branded the provincial museum collection as Japanese Art, on which the East Asian collection in the Museum was built. The collection made Marsham a self-taught scholar and instructor. His collection of teaware was featured in display cases to show his taste and knowledge of Japanese culture. With correspondences between Marsham and the curator of the museum, this chapter brings the provincial museum into the history of collecting Japanese art.

Chapter seven locates Franks and Marsham's collecting networks in a wider context of collecting Japanese ceramics from the 1860s to 1910s. Their collections connect to the larger system of collecting shaped by collectors, museums, learned societies, public exhibitions, British industry, private experience of the objects, Japanese promotion of arts and cultures, and the transition of antiquarianism to modern disciplines. Ceramics for tea gatherings acted in the system as ceramic material, specimens of local industry, representations of cultural customs, and personal and collective memory and heritage.

Chapter One: The Augustus W. Franks Collection of Japanese Ceramics, the 1860s–80s

Japanese tea ceramics and tea culture received the attention of scholars, artists and collectors who viewed it as both material and ethnographic representation in Victorian Britain. After introducing Franks and his collection of Japanese ceramics, this chapter explores the evolution of value for tea culture teaware in his research and display contexts in the 1860s to 80s, primarily based on Franks's publications and those of his contemporaries.

1.1 Franks and His Collection of Japanese Ceramics

One of the two British collectors of both whipped tea and steeped tea ceramics is Augustus W. Franks. He is regarded as the pioneering scholar who assembled and studied Japanese ceramics in nineteenth century Britain. Franks played multiple roles as a collector, connoisseur, archaeologist, and curator at many societies, exhibitions and museums from his youth.⁶⁸ He was born in Geneva in 1826, schooled in Rome, and educated at Eton College (1839–43) before he obtained his BA and MA from Trinity College, Cambridge. Born to a rich family with 'a hereditary disease' of collecting, his interaction with the material culture of the past shaped his career.⁶⁹ At Trinity College, he developed his interest in medieval architecture and archaeology.⁷⁰ In 1850, as Honorary Secretary, he was involved in the

⁶⁸ For his biography, see David M. Wilson, 'Franks, Sir (Augustus) Wollaston (1826–1897), Collector and Museum Keeper', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 29 May 2014 (first published in 2004), accessed 26 February 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10093>. Marjorie Caygill, 'Franks and the British Museum—the Cuckoo in the Nest', in *A. W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum*, ed. Marjorie Caygill and John Cherry (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1997), 51–114.

⁶⁹ Augustus W. Franks, 'The Apology of My Life', in *A. W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum*, ed. Marjorie Caygill (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1997), 318.

⁷⁰ Caygill, 'Franks and the British Museum—the Cuckoo in the Nest', 56.

Exhibition of Ancient and Medieval Art arranged by the Society of Arts. From 1851 to 1897, he served at the British Museum and expanded non-Classical collections including Japanese art and ceramics by coordinating donations from private collectors and his own. He was also a central figure in old and new learned societies and clubs from the Society of Antiquaries, the Archaeological Institute, Congrès international d'Anthropologie & d'Archéologie, the Ethnological Society, and the Anthropological Institute, the Burlington Fine Arts Club (BFAC).

The Society of Antiquaries (SoA) and the British Museum were the main contributors to the writing of Franks's biography in the late twentieth century. The two institutions had historical connections with the collector for which he served as a curator and a president, respectively. John Evans's institutional biography of the SoA in 1956 discussed how Franks reformed the society.⁷¹ David M. Wilson, a former director of the British Museum, bestowed on him the position of an early contributor to the Museum, in the first biography of Franks.⁷² As a key player in the antiquities, arts, archaeology and anthropology of Victorian Britain, Franks's contributions have been acknowledged and researched beyond academic disciplines. The monumental work *A.W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum* (1997), published by the British Museum discusses Franks from the perspective of different academic fields and collecting areas where Franks contributed as a curator, collector and scholar.⁷³ Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere has discussed and positioned his collecting of

⁷¹ Joan Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries* (Oxford: The University Press by Charles Batey for The Society of Antiquaries, London, 1956).

⁷² David M. Wilson, *The Forgotten Collector: Augustus Wollaston Franks of the British Museum*, Walter Neurath Memorial Lectures 16 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984).

⁷³ Marjorie Caygill and John Cherry, eds., *A.W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum* (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1997).

Japanese ceramics in the institutional history of collecting of the museum as well as the development of Japanese ceramics studies.⁷⁴

Recent scholarship features Franks's role in the intersection of the public and private spheres in collecting, displaying, and researching beyond biographical and institutional histories. In 2017, Stacey Pierson positioned Franks in the activity of private collectors at the BFAC.⁷⁵ Eloise Donnelly's article in 2018 explores the development of professional curatorship by examining Franks's network which intersects with the art market and the nineteenth-century museums.⁷⁶

Franks's collection of Japanese ceramics at the British Museum, where he worked as Assistant from 1851 and Keeper from 1866 to 96, is one of the earliest and most comprehensive collections in this category.⁷⁷ In 1875, his 1,613 East Asian ceramics collection including Japanese ceramics were displayed at the Bethnal Green Museum (BGM). This museum was founded as the East London branch of South Kensington Museum (SKM) in 1872, where the parental museum's scientific collections of Animal Products and Food

⁷⁴ For example, Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, 'Porcelains in the British Museum: A.W. Franks and the Formation of the Japanese Ceramic Collection', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 65 (2001 2000): 83–92. Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, 'Eikoku Vikutoria jidai no Nhon tōji shūshū: A.W. Furankusu, Ninagawa Noritane to Daieihakubutsukan 英国ヴィクトリア時代の日本陶磁器蒐集—A・W・フランク、蜷川式胤と大英博物館', trans. Arichi Meri 有地芽湮, *Bijutsu Forum* 21 5 (2001): 101–10. Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, 'Daiei Hakubutsukan shozō Nihon no tōki corekushon no rekishi 大英博物館所蔵 日本の陶器コレクションの歴史 [The History of Collecting Japanese Ceramics in the British Museum; A.W. Franks and his circle]', *Center for Comparative Japanese Studies annual bulletin* 4 (March 2008): 133–39.

⁷⁵ Pierson, Private collecting, exhibitions, and the shaping of art history in London: The Burlington Fine Arts Club.

⁷⁶ Eloise Donnelly, "'A Desire for the National Good": Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks and the Curatorship of Renaissance Decorative Art in Britain, 1840–1900', *Journal of Art Historiography*, no. 18 (2018): 18-ED1.

⁷⁷ For the position of Franks in the British Museum, see Caygill, 'Franks and the British Museum', 60, 63–71.

were shown while private collectors showcased their art collections.⁷⁸ *The Art Journal*, a leading Victorian journal on arts stated that Franks collection at the Museum illustrated ‘an almost exhaustive degree’ of Chinese and Japanese ceramics.⁷⁹ In 1885, the collection was transferred to the British Museum and displayed in the Asiatic Saloon of the museum.⁸⁰ Jessica Harrison-Hall evaluates him as the first scholar to legitimate East Asian ceramics as an academic subject and educational exhibit by contrasting him with eighteenth-century collecting of curiosities and ornaments.⁸¹ Stacey Pierson assesses the large impact of Franks’ publications and those of his followers in the identification of objects and style of description.⁸² Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere and Simon Kaner claim that Franks’s criteria for choosing Japanese objects for the Museum were ‘didactic’, not just based on their beauty but by the possibility of stimulating contemporary British makers to create new works.⁸³

Unlike contemporary collectors of Japanese ceramics such as Henri Cernuschi (1821–1896) from France and Edward Morse from the U.S.A., Franks had never travelled to Japan. The Japanese ceramics are a sub-division of his various collections acquired during his curatorship and the bequest given to the British Museum after his death in 1897.⁸⁴ The Franks

⁷⁸ Elizabeth James, *The Victoria and Albert Museum: A Bibliography and Exhibition Chronology, 1852–1996* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn Pub. in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1998), xix. The museum is now the V&A Museum of Childhood.

⁷⁹ ‘Bethnal Green Museum’, *Art Journal*, New series, 14 (1875), 336.

⁸⁰ Jessica Harrison-Hall, ‘Oriental Pottery and Porcelain’, in *A. W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum*, ed. Marjorie Caygill and John Cherry (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1997), 221. Franks removed and added objects from his collection before the transfer.

⁸¹ Harrison-Hall, 220.

⁸² Stacey Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums: The Field of Chinese Ceramics in Britain, 1560–1960* (Oxford: P. Lang, 2007). 76, 84.

⁸³ Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere and Simon Kaner, ‘Collecting East Asia in Nineteenth-Century Britain’, in *Europe and the Asia-Pacific: Culture, Identity and Representations of Region*, ed. Stephanie Lawson (Routledge, 2003), 203.

⁸⁴ Soame Jenyns, ‘The Franks Collection of Oriental Antiquities’, *The British Museum Quarterly* 18, no. 4 (1953): 103–106. Franks obtained objects from Britain, Europe, Near

collection with over 7,000 entries created during his career includes around 1,500 Japanese ceramic works including mixed media with some ceramic component.⁸⁵ Franks's donations account for currently around half of the Japanese ceramic holdings at the British Museum.⁸⁶ His scholarly and careful collecting of ceramics reveals his vision and understanding of the ceramic medium as a vehicle for understanding different cultures and time periods.

Franks initially assembled Japanese porcelain—primarily export porcelain made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1876, while he was working for the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography at the British Museum, he published the catalogue for his collection of East Asian ceramics loaned to BGM.⁸⁷ In this catalogue, over one hundred entries for 'Japanese porcelain' are listed while only eight objects are recorded as 'Japanese pottery', which may now be classified as stoneware and earthenware.⁸⁸ Franks presented his particular interest in Japanese 'pottery' from the first publication of his catalogue, but he was aware of the deficiency to illustrate this type of material in his collection:

However much the Japanese may excel in porcelain, it is in their pottery that they show the most remarkable success. In this section unfortunately the collection now exhibited is very imperfect.⁸⁹

East, Middle East, India, China and Japan. At the British Museum, Asian materials were classified by material.

⁸⁵ This number is based on current entries registered as Frank collection at the Museum database.

⁸⁶ Among 1,118 Japanese three-dimensional objects in the Franks bequest, the majority are *netsuke* with 817 entries and *tsuba* with 265 pieces, followed by 25 lacquer works.

⁸⁷ Augustus W. Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery* (London: South Kensington Museum Bethnal Green Branch, 1876).

⁸⁸ Franks, 64–82. Japanese porcelain with European designs, Japanese porcelain painted in Europe, and Japanese porcelain combined with other materials such as cloisonné are discussed separately from 'Japanese Porcelain' section. Therefore, the total number of Japanese porcelain in the first edition is much larger than 100 entries.

⁸⁹ Franks, 82.

At this time, his evaluation of Japanese pottery was based on the beauty and functionality seen on examples of Satsuma, Kyoto, Kaga, and Banko wares.⁹⁰ For example, he praised the beauty of the colour of Satsuma ware's paste comparing to Wedgwood:

the paste is of a pale yellowish tint, not unlike Wedgwood's Queen's ware in colour, and is slightly crackled; over this are thrown sprays of plants, with rich diapered borders, the effect of which is enhanced by the delicacy of the colours and the richness of the gilding.⁹¹

Two surviving objects from his earliest collection of Japanese pottery are small Banko teapots for steeped tea (Fig. 1, Fig. 2).⁹² He cites A. B. Mitford (Later Lord Redesdale, 1837–1916)'s comment on the manufacturing skill and utilitarian excellence of the Banko teapots.

For some 30 years past a man named Banko Iusetzu, of Kuana [sic], in the province of Ise, has been famous for producing a curious kind of pottery, which being finished off with the finger and thumb before being subjected to the fire, shows the lines and of the skin of the hand upon its surface. No tea-pots equal those of Banko for producing a delicate infusion of tea, and all lovers of tea patronise them; they are fragile to a degree, the paste being as thin as a wafer.⁹³



Fig. 1 Ogawa Hansuke, Teapot with knob decoration of a racoon dog, Yokkaichi Banko ware, nineteenth century, Franks collection.

⁹⁰ Franks, 82.

⁹¹ Franks, 82.

⁹² Franks, 87. The catalogue number and Franks collection number at the British Museum match for the two teapots.

⁹³ Franks, 82–83.



Fig. 2 Teapot with knob decoration of a bird, Banko ware, nineteenth century, Franks collection.

Franks's personal reception of the teapots is unclear in the catalogue. However, the functionality of a teapot was certainly one of the important characteristics to mention in Franks's earliest literature on Japanese ceramics.

However, in the second edition of his catalogue, Franks turned his attention to the more cultural aspects of Japanese ceramics; in particular, he focussed on stoneware and earthenware as possibly unique products reflecting native aesthetics.⁹⁴ Along with the additions of the 'old and curious specimens' to his collection, he added the connection of the history of Japanese pottery with that of Japanese prehistory and the role of whipped tea gatherings in appreciating the 'quaint specimens' of Japanese ceramics.⁹⁵

The long continuance of this little ornamented ware seems to have been due to the admiration of the Japanese for Korean pottery, and the extension of the fashion for forming clubs to drink powdered tea. . . . These tea clubs had a very strong influence on the art of pottery in Japan, and were the cause of the production of many of the quaint specimens to be found in collections.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Augustus W. Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 2nd ed (London: South Kensington Museum Bethnal Green Branch, 1878). 68, 85.

⁹⁵ Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 2nd ed, vii, 85.

⁹⁶ Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 2nd ed, 85.

His shift of focus to cultural perspectives on Japanese ceramics directly corresponds to his interest in Japanese tea gatherings and tea taste, which is likely to have led to the inclusion of a large number of tea utensils in the second catalogue published in 1878 (Fig. 3). These tea-related ceramics are mainly vessels for whipped tea or *matcha* in Japanese, but a small number of steeped tea, *sencha*, wares are also included in his collection (Table 1).



Fig. 3 Tea bowl, Karatsu ware, sixteenth century, Franks collection.

Catalogue of a collection of Oriental porcelain and pottery						
Catalogue	Sub category	Entry	Sencha	Matcha	other	Comments
1st edition (1876)						
CLASS VIII Japanese Pottery		8	2	0		
Additions to the catalogue in 2nd edition (1878)						
CLASS VII Japanese Porcelain	Section A Plain white	18	3	1		1 lid rest for water container is categorised as a stand for teapot lid
	Section C Painted in Blue	41		1		
	Section D Painted in Colour	100	3	1	1	1 export Kakiemon teapot
CLASS VIII Japanese Pottery		275	8	47		2 lid rests for water container are categorised as a stand for teapot lid
Additions to the agenda in 2nd edition (1878)						
Japanese Porcelain		6	0	0		
Japanese Pottery		9	0	2		

Table 1 The number of teaware in Franks's *Catalogue of a collection of Oriental porcelain and pottery* (1876, 1878).

This chapter analyses his shifting attitude toward Japanese ceramics as material and cultural representation in the late 1870s based on his texts, collection and in light of collecting

practice and display. Special attention to teaware in the category of Japanese ceramics provides new insight into his collecting of material culture based on his collection and archives in the British Museum.

The definition of the Franks collection at the British Museum in this thesis is the collection acquired by Franks for the British Museum. However, it is hard to identify his collection exactly because the registration system of objects was underdeveloped at the British Museum in the nineteenth century.⁹⁷ There are several problems regarding the acquisition of the Franks collection. First, the majority of acquisition dates are unknown. Second, there is a possibility that objects acquired during his curatorship could be mixed in with his personal collection. Third, objects donated by other collectors with a Franks museum number could be either donations under his keepership or ex-Franks collection obtained by other collectors and donated to the Museum. Some of Franks's collection includes provenance information while others only have numbers on the object. In addition, some objects acquired in the eighteenth century also have a Franks collection number. Probably because Franks was involved in the cataloguing of the Sir Hans Sloane collection of the eighteenth century, some of the ex-Sloane collection also has Franks numbers.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Lawrence Smith, 'The Art and Antiquities of Japan', 265.

⁹⁸ For example, Lidded box, lacquerware, seventeenth century, bequeathed by Sir Hans Sloane, ex-collection of Engelbert Kämpfer, British Museum, Franks.15; Bowls, stoneware with slip decoration, Utsutsugawa ware, bequeathed by Sir Hans Sloane, ex-collection of Engelbert Kämpfer, British Museum, SLMisc.1698.1-3, additional number Franks.1941.

1.2 Materiality and Cultural Representation of Japanese Teaware: Between Material and Ethnographic Collecting

Japanese Ceramics from a Field of Material to Ethnographic Study

Ceramics were a comparative material for Franks in a branch of decorative arts, of which he was a passionate collector. Franks acquired ceramics from England, Europe, China, Japan and the Middle East and often compared the similarities and differences between the ceramics from different areas. The manner of describing objects from different regions in a framework of ceramics follows the style of Joseph Maryatt's *A History of Pottery and Porcelain* (1857).⁹⁹ In this guidebook of ceramics, Maryatt classifies the material into pottery and porcelain. In each category, ceramics are described by regions. Chinese, Japanese and Persian ceramics are explained in the section 'Porcelain (Hard Paste, Oriental)'.¹⁰⁰ The same approach is also seen in one of Franks's reference books cited in his catalogue, Albert Jacquemart's (1808–1875) *Histoire de la céramique* (1873).¹⁰¹ In addition, he collected 'documentary porcelain' with marks and dates so as to work as a reference, which is applied to his collecting of ceramics from different regions.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Franks assisted Maryatt with the publication. Joseph Marryat, *A History of Pottery and Porcelain, Medieval and Modern by Joseph Marryat* (London: John Murray, 1857), iv, 98.

¹⁰⁰ Marryat, 181–240.

¹⁰¹ Pauline d'Abrigeon, 'Albert Jacquemart (1808–1875) and His Work on Chinese Ceramics', *Transaction of Oriental Ceramic Society* 83 (2019 2018): 81–95. Albert Jacquemart, *Histoire de la céramique: étude descriptive et raisonnée des poteries de tous les temps et de tous les peuples* (Paris: Hachette, 1873). The English translation was also published in the same year. Albert Jacquemart, *History of the Ceramic Art: A Descriptive and Philosophical Study of the Pottery of All Ages and All Nations* (London: S. Low, Marston, Low, and Searle, 1873).

¹⁰² For example, Augustus W. Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Continental Porcelain* (London: South Kensington Museum Bethnal Green Branch, 1896), iii. Franks explains his focus on collecting documentary porcelain in the preface. Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 2nd ed, 207–221. Chinese and Japanese marks are explained.

This universal comparative approach to ceramics was feasible partly because they were available on a larger scale almost simultaneously in the British decorative art market since the 1860s. The dealer Fredrick Litchfield (b.1850) reflects on the market of the nineteenth century and points out that the abolition of governmental duty on foreign porcelains in 1860 and the cessation of the monopoly by the East India Company on trade with China in 1858 changed the flow of objects from overseas to Britain.¹⁰³ The nineteenth century French and British collectors collected Italian and Spanish ceramics partly to preserve them from disappearance amid the civilian conflicts, which provided acquisition opportunities of objects.¹⁰⁴ Either from Europe or non-European countries, an aspect of the flourishing of the ceramic market was fuelled by the abandonment of ceramics from the original countries. Preserving non-European objects by Westerners is often seen as a reflection of an unequal colonial power structure which subjected the East to be protected by the West. However, in universalist collecting, the objects from different regions functioned to draw a large picture of world ceramics in the comparison with each other beyond the power structure of the countries of origin. Japanese ceramics was an area comparable to the ceramic arts from different regions, which were available in the late nineteenth century.

In Franks's first catalogue of *Oriental Porcelain and Pottery* (1876), East Asian ceramics are described comparatively, classified by the country, material and colour.¹⁰⁵ This catalogue is based on his ceramic collection displayed at BGM from 1875, subsequently acquired by the British Museum in 1885. Therefore, this literature illustrates how he understands Chinese and

¹⁰³ Frederick Litchfield, *Pottery and Porcelain, a Guide to Collectors* (New York, M. Barrows, 1879), 203.

¹⁰⁴ Tom Stammers, 'Historian, Patriot and Paragon of Taste: Baron Jean-Charles Davillier (1823–83) and the Study of Ceramics in Nineteenth-Century France', *French Poreclain Society journal* 7 (2018), 8.

¹⁰⁵ Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 1st ed.

Japanese ceramics as well as how he formed and organised his own collection. Exhibiting the diversity of Japanese ceramics was the principle of his collecting and the aim of his study on the subject. The preface of the catalogue indicates the objective of the display and the publication, which was to ‘illustrate so fully the different varieties of porcelain’ from China and Japan including ordinary and contemporary works.¹⁰⁶ Franks’s approach, comparing and contrasting ceramics from different countries, is also applied to the analysis of different examples within his Japanese ceramic collection. Indeed, contemporary authors on Japanese ceramics also use the comparative method when describing works. Jacquemart categorises Japanese ceramics based on design.¹⁰⁷ George Ashdown Audsley and James Lord Bowes classify them according to the region of production.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, Franks classifies them by the technique.¹⁰⁹ However, the function of the objects is the primary difference between the former two authors and Franks. While Jacquemart and Bowes illustrate representational examples of ceramics in their books, Franks lists over a thousand objects with a concise description including the region of production. His collection functioned as a primary comparative method, not as supplemental examples.

Franks’s goal to form a complete collection of various ceramics from East Asia remained unchanged throughout his collecting. However, his subsequent publications, the second edition of the *Oriental Porcelain and Pottery* (1878) and a guidebook on *Japanese Pottery* (1880) expanded the range of diversity of Japanese ceramics to cultural, regional and

¹⁰⁶ Franks, vii.

¹⁰⁷ Jacquemart, *Histoire de la céramique*, 92–176.

¹⁰⁸ George Ashdown Audsley and James Lord Bowes, *Keramic Art of Japan* (Liverpool: Henry Sotheran & Co, 1875), 19–61.

¹⁰⁹ Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 1st ed. Japanese porcelain is grouped by ‘plain white’, ‘coloured glaze’, ‘painted in blue’, and painted in colour. There are other categories of ‘Oriental porcelain with foreign designs’, ‘Oriental porcelain decorated in Europe’, and ‘Oriental porcelain in combination with other substances,’ which includes examples of Japanese porcelain.

individual differences, which was accompanied by his chronological observation of the production and function of objects in Japanese society. The publication of the second edition of his catalogue (1878) was to establish his earthenware and stoneware collection as ‘more complete’.¹¹⁰ In the first edition, there is only a small number of Japanese stoneware and earthenware in his collection, which he described as an ‘imperfect representation’.¹¹¹ There is a considerable increase in ‘old and curious specimens’ made of stoneware and earthenware imported from Japan in the second edition.¹¹² Besides the inclusion of various examples from more kilns across Japan, the new catalogue introduces the history of Japanese earthenware and stoneware from prehistory to contemporary periods.¹¹³ Furthermore, in *Japanese Pottery* (1880), a guidebook for Japanese ceramics acquired from the Philadelphia International Exhibition of 1876 by SKM, Franks addresses the diversity of Japanese ceramics according to different contexts in which objects are used and individual characteristics of ceramic producers.¹¹⁴ It is certain that Franks developed his understanding of Japanese ceramics through the objects and knowledge from Japanese nationals and foreign residents in Japan because his references on Japanese ceramics shift from western accounts to Japanese accounts.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Augustus W. Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 2nd ed, vii.

¹¹¹ Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 1st ed, 82.

¹¹² Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 2nd ed, vii.

¹¹³ Franks, 2nd ed, 84–7.

¹¹⁴ Augustus W. Franks, *Japanese Pottery: Being a Native Report* (London: Published for the Committee of Council on Education by Chapman and Hall, Limited, 1880), 12.

¹¹⁵ General references are mentioned in prefaces and introductory remarks, but additional references are seen in the main contents of his books. Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 1st ed, viii. Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 2nd ed, vii–viii. Franks, *Japanese Pottery*, xiv–xv.

Tea Culture as the Aesthetic Basis for Japanese Ceramics

However, the most significant shift is the introduction of Japanese tea culture as a unique aesthetic basis for the reception and production of Japanese ceramics. This is part of the reason there is such diversity of Japanese ceramics in the collection. Moreover, what is of interest is the use of a Japanese perspective to expand the understanding of the field of Japanese ceramics and shift classification from material categories to that of ethnographic study.

The first indication of Japanese tea in Franks's catalogue was A. B. Mitford's comment on the suitability of Banko ware teapot for drinking tea (Fig. 1, Fig. 2) in the first edition of *Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*.¹¹⁶ This is a comment made by a British diplomat on a contemporary Japanese product. However, the second edition eliminates this comment. Alternatively, in the history section of Japanese earthenware and stoneware, Franks explains whipped tea as drinking at 'tea clubs', which 'had a very strong influence on the art of pottery in Japan and were the cause of the production of many of the quaint specimens to be found in collections.'¹¹⁷ While the first edition only mentions Satsuma, Kyoto, 'Kutenai [sic]' [Kutani] and Banko ware in the 'pottery' section, the second edition explains 'little ornamented ware' such as Bizen, Karatsu, and Seto before 'more ornamental kinds of pottery' such as those from Kyoto and Satsuma.¹¹⁸ This order of kilns resembles that of the Report of Japanese Ceramics displayed at the Philadelphia International Exhibition (1876)

¹¹⁶ Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 1st ed, 83.

¹¹⁷ Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 2nd ed, 85.

¹¹⁸ Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 1st ed, 83. Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 2nd ed, 84–7.

written by Shioda Makoto 塩田真 (1837–1917) which is published as *Japanese Pottery* (1880) with Franks's introduction.¹¹⁹

A consideration of tea culture is more emphasised in Franks's *Japanese Pottery* (1880).¹²⁰ This guidebook to Japanese ceramics is composed of Franks's introduction and the Native Report for the Philadelphia International Exhibition in 1876. The exhibition featured a group of 'older Japanese ceramic ware', which was acquired by SKM. At the beginning of the Introduction, Franks clearly claims that Japanese earthenware is 'native originality'.¹²¹ While the previous catalogue mentions tea culture as a part of the history of ceramics, the latest book starts with 'national peculiarities and customs' before the history of production.¹²²

In fact the Japanese collector, where pottery and porcelain are concerned, cares little for high finish or elaborate ornament; a rough, sketchy, but picturesque design is far more pleasing to him than elegant forms and rich decoration which we are accustomed to hold in esteem.¹²³

'Tea Ceremonies' are introduced as the fundamental reason for the unique Japanese aesthetics above. Franks explains details of architecture, procedures of the rituals, and the utensils used in the gatherings based on accounts by foreign residents in Japan written in the 1870s and information from a Japanese student in Britain, Kasawara Kenju 笠原研寿 (1852–1883) (see chapter three).¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ Franks, *Japanese Pottery*, 22–103. Arakawa Masaaki 荒川正明, 'Shioda Makoto 塩田真', in Kadokawa Nihon Tōji Daijiten Kadokawa 角川日本陶磁大辞典, the Encyclopedia of Japanese Ceramics, ed. Yabe Yoshiaki (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2002), 619. Shioda led ceramic engineering during the Meiji era and researched the history of Japanese ceramics and ceramicists.

¹²⁰ Franks, *Japanese Pottery*, 12–15.

¹²¹ Franks, 1.

¹²² Franks, 1.

¹²³ Franks, 2.

¹²⁴ Franks, 4–6. Dr Funk 'Ueber die Japanischen Theegesellschaften Cha No Yu', *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, Band 1

Ethnography of Tea Culture

Franks understood the custom of tea at tea clubs as a culture which almost vanished from Japan. In the second edition of *Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, Franks writes about the culture of tea in the past tense.¹²⁵ In *Japanese Pottery* (1880), he notes that ‘the ceremonies in fact are dying out, and will probably have entirely disappeared in a few years’.¹²⁶ This recognition corresponds to that of one of his references on Japanese tea gathering, Dr Funk’s ‘Ueber die Japanischen Theegesellschaften Cha No Yu’ in *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* published in 1874. In this article Funk insists that the whipped tea gatherings have ‘almost disappeared’ and that the Japanese regard them as a ‘relic’ of a pedantic and slow past.¹²⁷ This account is based on his observation of a tea ceremony with whipped tea prepared by ‘Mijake’, probably Funk’s colleague Miyake Hizu 三宅秀 (1848–1938), who was an interpreter at the Tokyo Medical School.¹²⁸

In an address to the Trustees of the British Museum (1868), Franks claims that the ethnographic collection at the British Museum should demonstrate:

the manners and customs of such races as have not been subjected directly to European civilisation, so as to furnish the student with the means of

(1873–6), *Haft 6*: 41–45. Alexander von Siebold’s account is cited in Fedor Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen* (Weidmann, 1873). Fedor Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines* (London, Chapman and Hall, 1875), 160–182.

¹²⁵ Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 2nd ed. 85.

¹²⁶ Franks, *Japanese Pottery*, 3–4.

¹²⁷ Funk, ‘Ueber die Japanischen Theegesellschaften Cha No Yu’, 43.

¹²⁸ Funk, 45. Terauchi Naoko 寺内直子, ‘Reoporuto Myureru no Nihon ongaku ni kansuru nōto ni tsuite レオポルト・ミュルレルの「日本音楽に関するノート」について [A study on Einige Notizen über japanische Musik written by Benjamin Karl Leopold Muller]’, *Kokusai bunkagaku kenkyū* 国際文化学研究: 神戸大学大学院国際文化学研究科紀要, no. 40 (2013), 31. Miyake later became the first Doctor of Medical Science and Honourable professor of the University of Tokyo.

examining the affinities and differences between such races and also reconstruct some of the lost pages of the history of the world.¹²⁹

Concerning his statement above, the collecting of Japanese teaware goes beyond assembling ceramics as a material culture because Franks was conscious about the endangered culture distinctive from European civilisation. Therefore, it could be said that the Japanese ceramics were included as part of the ethnographic collection in order to record a disappearing culture.

Moreover, in *Japanese Pottery* (1880), Franks illustrates a bamboo whisk and a spoon for tea gatherings of whipped tea from the Henry Christy (1810–1865) Collection (Fig. 4).¹³⁰ The Christy Collection is a large ethnographic collection, which Franks worked hard to acquire as a trustee for the Collection for the British Museum.¹³¹ This connection to the ethnographical collection also suggests that Japanese ceramics is no longer just a branch of ceramic material. The focus on the culture behind the object transfers Japanese ceramics into an ethnographical or anthropological subject.

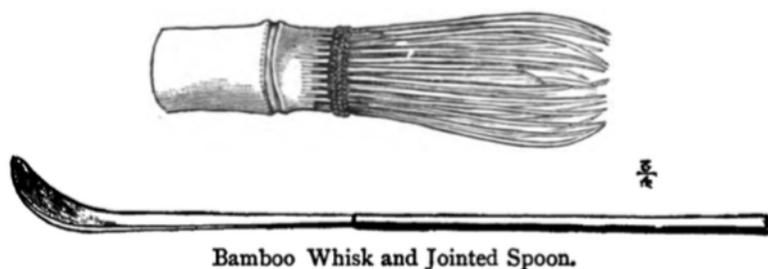


Fig. 4 Illustrations of bamboo whisk and jointed spoon from Christy Collection, in Franks, *Japanese Pottery*, 1880.

¹²⁹ British Museum Central Archive Officer's Reports, 10 February 1868, cited in J. C. H. King, 'Franks and Ethnography', in *A. W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum*, Marjorie Caygill and John Cherry, eds, (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1997), 140.

¹³⁰ Franks, *Japanese Pottery*, 5–6.

¹³¹ King, 'Franks and Ethnography', 137–140. The Christy Collection was formed by the banker and textile producer Henry Christy from 1850 and transferred to the British Museum after his death in 1865. Christy collected prehistoric and ethnographical objects mainly from North and South America and Europe.

Franks judges contemporary tea ceremonies organised by different schools as ‘nothing more than friendly réunions’.¹³² In other words, what mattered to him were tea ceremonies in the past, not contemporary practices. In his antiquarian world view, whipped tea utensils were valued as representations of the past culture of Japan, as defined through his ethnographic pursuit of collecting world objects on behalf of the national museum.

Two Types of Tea: Teaware for Whipped Tea and Steeped Tea

Franks’s attention to Japanese tea culture corresponds to the increase of teaware in his collection. In the Franks collection at the British Museum, there are approximately 300 entries for Japanese ceramics that are now associated with tea drinking.¹³³ There were no vessels for whipped tea gatherings in the first edition of his catalogue of East Asian ceramics while the second edition contains over 50 teawares for whipped tea.¹³⁴ On the other hand, two steeped tea teapots are included among the eight entries of Japanese pottery in the original edition. In the second edition, the modest increase is observed for the steeped tea vessels with 14 additions. It could be said that his interest in the native aesthetics is directly reflected in the selection of objects in his collection.

The emphasis on tea ceremonies appears to make a line between teaware for tea ceremonies and others including teaware not included in the ceremonies. In the introduction of *Japanese Pottery* (1880), Franks categorises Japanese domestic wares according to the usage. The teaware for whipped tea is explained in the beginning, followed by vessels for incense burning, tobacco, literary items such as a brush pot, vessels for sake and tea for steeped tea,

¹³² Franks, *Japanese Pottery*, 3.

¹³³ Approximately 50 entries are related to steeped tea gatherings.

¹³⁴ Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 1st and 2nd eds.

and ornaments such as figures.¹³⁵ Franks clearly differentiates teaware at tea ceremonies from tea drunk with teapots. However, in reality, teapots produced in the nineteenth century were used in everyday life as well as tea gatherings for steeped tea. It is unknown if Franks was aware of steeped tea gatherings (Fig. 5). The lack of information about steeped tea gatherings in his literature is probably due to the absence of the information available to him.



Fig. 5 Illustration of a Tea Club for steeped tea, in Bowes, *A Vindication of the Decorated Pottery of Japan*, 1891.

In contrast to whipped tea vessels, collected from ethnographic interest, steeped teaware could have been seen as less original as far as Japanese ceramics are concerned. The similarity in the appearance with Japanese export teapots for the British market might have decreased the value of steeped tea utensils as representative of Japanese culture. The advertisement of Lasenby Liberty and Co., in *Japanese Pottery* (1880) illustrates a Japanese teapot made of marbled clay on the right top corner with seven other ‘cheap and artistic porcelains for house decoration’ (Fig. 6).¹³⁶ In addition, the similarity with Chinese teapots might have minimised the ethnographic value of Japanese steeped teaware as well. The resemblance of teapots from Japan and China confused collectors in the attribution of country

¹³⁵ Franks, *Japanese Pottery*, 12–14.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, the third page of the cover. The marbled teapot with a sided handle and openwork decoration is a typical Banko ware produced in current Mie prefecture in the late nineteenth century.

of origin. For example, Franks classified a pair of Chinese Yixing teaware vessels (Franks.1352) as Japanese in the ‘Japanese Pottery’ section.¹³⁷ Nevertheless, Franks collected widely not only whipped teaware but also many types of domestic Japanese ceramics including steeped tea vessels. His ethnographic perspective coexists with the comparative approach to Japanese ceramics as a material. As Nanjō Bunyū’s letter reveals, Franks ordered contemporary teapots from Japan.¹³⁸ Steeped teaware, which was a popular item in Japanese life, could have been seen as a medium of contemporary ceramic production. Japanese tea utensils were collected in the comparative approach as a material and from ethnographic interest.

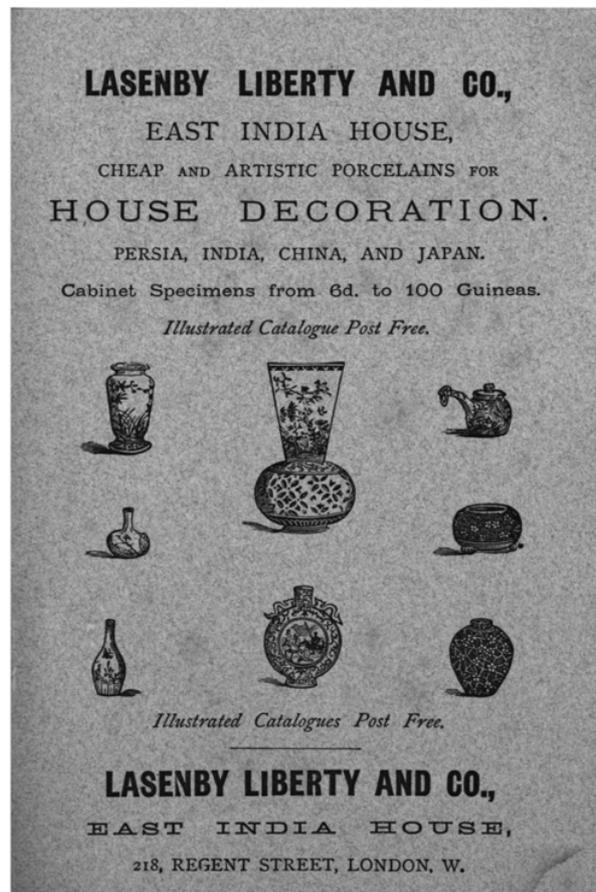


Fig. 6 Messrs. Lasenby Liberty, & Co., Advertisement with an illustration of a Japanese teapot (top right), 1880.

¹³⁷ Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 2nd ed, 187. Similar confusion is also seen in Marryat, *A History of Pottery and Porcelain, Medieval and Modern* by Joseph Marryat, 229.

¹³⁸ See chapter three.

1.3 Display Context of Franks Collection of Japanese Ceramics

Franks formed his Japanese ceramic collection while employed as a curator of the British Museum. However, the collection itself was on display at the BGM in 1875–1878. This section explores the position of the Franks collection of Japanese ceramics within the history of display during the foundation period of SKM and its branches in the 1850s, the following developmental stage in the 1860–70s and the final destination at the British Museum in the 1880s.

Ceramics in Scientific Display, the 1850s

Long before Franks exhibited his collection of ‘Oriental’ ceramics at the BGM from 1875, he donated objects to the Museum of Practical Geology (MPG) in the 1850s. MPG was the institution for educating students of mining established by Sir Henry De la Beche (1796–1856) in 1835. In 1837, the Museum had been founded as the Museum of Economic Geology at Charing Cross and moved to Jermyn Street in 1852 under the new name.¹³⁹ The displays of the museum included raw materials as well as products manufactured from these materials.¹⁴⁰ The same relationship between raw material and finished products can be found in the ‘Economic Botany Collection’ of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.¹⁴¹ MPG was dissolved in 1901 and its collection became a part of the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) collections,

¹³⁹ Museum of Practical Geology, *A Short Guide to the Museum of Practical Geology*. (London: Printed for His Majesty’s Stationery Office by Darling & Son, 1909), 2.

¹⁴⁰ Susan Newell, ‘Alexandre Brongniart, Museological Muse? Reflections on Brongniart’s Influence on the Formation of the Ceramics Collection at London’s Museum of Practical Geology, c. 1850’, *French Porcelain Society Journal* 7 (2018), 136.

¹⁴¹ Caroline Cornish, ‘Nineteenth-Century Museums and the Shaping of Disciplines: Potentialities and Limitations at Kew’s Museum of Economic Botany’, *Museum History Journal* 8, no. 1 (January 2015): 8–27. W. T. Thiselton Dyer, ‘Notes on Some New Economic Products Recently Received at the Royal Gardens, Kew’, *Botanical Journal of the Linnean Society* 20, no. 129 (1 September 1883), 411. For example, in the 1880s, a collection of Japanese lacquer (*urushi*) and its products was acquired for the Museum with the help of the British Legation in Japan, initially led by John J. Quin, an Acting Consul at Hakodate.

which made a complete collection of British and European ceramics in Britain.¹⁴² The significance of the ceramic collection at MPG has been recently reevaluated from the perspective of the field of European ceramic studies.¹⁴³

Franks had donated a ‘Saucer of Oriental porcelain, painted at Chelsea’ to MPG by 1855 when the director De la Beche and the curator Trenham Reeks published the catalogue of *British Pottery and Porcelain from the time of Roman occupation to the contemporary*, which categorised the object under the products from Chelsea, the English soft-paste porcelain manufacturer from 1743.¹⁴⁴ This donation to the MPG shows his interest in positioning ‘Oriental’ ceramics in British ceramic history and scientific contexts. The imported porcelain saucer with English decoration demonstrated the technical and aesthetic development of the British ceramic industry that appropriated the surface and design of ‘Oriental’ ceramics.¹⁴⁵ Later, ‘Oriental porcelain decorated in Europe’ becomes an important category of Franks’s *Catalogue of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery* (1876 and 1878) which included a Chinese cup and saucer decorated at Chelsea (Franks. 651).¹⁴⁶ While Japanese porcelain is not included under this category in the catalogues, he bequeathed Arita porcelain jars with Dutch decoration to the British Museum in 1897 (Fig. 7).

¹⁴² Newell, ‘Alexandre Brongniart, Museological Muse?’, 134.

¹⁴³ Newell.

¹⁴⁴ Henry De La Beche, and Trenham Reeks, *Catalogue of Specimens Illustrative of the Composition and Manufacture of British Pottery and Porcelain: From the Occupation of Britain by the Romans to the Present Time* (London: Printed by G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1855).

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 151. Helen Espir, ‘Overview of the Display at the British Museum, East Meets West: Oriental Porcelain Decorated in Europe’, *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 65 (2001 2000), 109. European decorators began enamelling on Japanese and Chinese porcelain by the eighteenth century and London workshops applied decoration on Chinese porcelain in the nineteenth century.

¹⁴⁶ Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 1st ed, 101–104.



Fig. 7 A pair of bottles with design of flower scrolls, birds, trees and hedges, Arita ware, 1670s–1700s, probably decorated in Holland, 1710–1725, Franks collection.

Franks might have sympathised with the idea of the establishment of an encyclopaedic ceramic collection in Britain in the mode of the Sèvres Museum, directed by Alexandre Brongniart (1770–1847). The chemist Brongniart organised displays of world ceramics and contemporary products for artistic and scientific education for French manufacturers and had an impact on MPG and British ceramic studies in the mid nineteenth century.¹⁴⁷ Franks also referenced Brongniart in his catalogues of Oriental and continental ceramics.¹⁴⁸ Susan Newell

¹⁴⁷ Newell, 133–4. For the details about Brongniart’s taxonomic classification of ceramics, see Alexandre Brongniart, *Traité des arts céramiques ou des poteries considérées dans leur histoire, leur pratique et leur théorie*. (Paris: Bechet Jean; Mathias, 1844). Tamara Préaud and Aileen Dawson, ‘Alexandre Brongniart and the expositions des produits de l’industrie française, 1819–44’, *French Porcelain Society Journal* 7 (2018), 111.

¹⁴⁸ Franks cites Brongniart, *Traité des arts céramique* as the ‘most scientific work’ on porcelain in Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 1st ed, xv. Franks also referred Alexandre Brongniart and Denis Désiré Riocreux, *Description méthodique du Musée Céramique de la Manufacture royal de Porcelaine de Sevres* (Paris: A. Leleux, 1845) in Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Continental Porcelain*, vi.

argues that the encyclopaedic collection of the MPG of the 1850s was realised by the founder De la Beche's refraining from an aesthetic judgement of the objects, which prevailed among contemporary British collectors of European ceramics in the mid nineteenth century.¹⁴⁹ De la Beche collected ceramic specimens regardless of the condition of the objects to seek an understanding of the development of the ceramic industry.¹⁵⁰ The approach of establishing a complete collection of ceramics in the MPG echoes Franks's collection. Franks describes his collection of Oriental Pottery and Porcelain as 'fairly complete and illustrative', which demonstrates his aspiration for forming a systematic ceramic collection.¹⁵¹

Ceramics in International Eclecticism and Geographic Display, the 1860s

Franks was an important expert and a lender to SKM who was consulted to enhance the knowledge of various art forms including East Asian ceramics. Not only did he serve as a consultant for the Museum, but also his ability to manage the Museum collection was noted. Henry Cole (1808–1882), the founding Director of the SKM from 1857 to 1873, asked Franks to become the curator of the institution twice.¹⁵² Although Franks declined both of the offers, this episode demonstrates Franks's proximity to the Museum's policies and its management. The SKM aimed to contribute to the development of industry and education for the public and manufacturers in Britain. Formerly the Museum of Manufactures or the Museum of Ornamental Art, the Museum was founded as a design school museum in a smaller building at Marlborough House, Pall Mall, based on the collection purchased from the International Exhibition in 1851.¹⁵³ According to one contemporary observer, at the 1851

¹⁴⁹ Newell, 139.

¹⁵⁰ Newell, 139.

¹⁵¹ Franks, 'The Apology of My Life', 322.

¹⁵² Franks, 321.

¹⁵³ Museum of Ornamental Art et al, *A Catalogue of the Articles of Ornamental Art in the Museum of the Department: For the Use of Students and Manufacturers, and the Consultation*

International Exhibition, what captured visitors' eyes were not British nor European industrial products but those from the East, especially of India.¹⁵⁴

They are the works of a people who are still as faithful to their art as to the religion, habits, and modes of thought which inspired it; whilst those objects in the Collection which are of European workmanship exhibit only the disordered state of art, at which we have now arrived; we have no guiding principles in design, and still less of unity in its application.¹⁵⁵

The observer Owen Jones (1809–1874), one of the most influential design reformers in mid nineteenth-century Britain, emulated ornament from ‘historically and culturally distant cultures’ to re-imagine a contemporary British design suitable to the modern industrial age.¹⁵⁶

The SKM provided the examples of world objects to inspire what Stacey Sloboda termed ‘cosmopolitan eclecticism’, once a part of radical design reform in the mid nineteenth century and became a trend in the 1860s.¹⁵⁷ For Jones, the exhibits from the ‘Orient’ were the inspirational source to create the new style suitable to the modern age that applies universal design principles, which he illustrated and narrated in his famous *Grammar of Ornament* (1856).¹⁵⁸ Jones examined ornament on the surfaces of ancient, medieval and ‘Oriental’ antiquities and contemporary products, treating them comparatively, echoing Hegelian universal humanism.¹⁵⁹

of the Public., 3rd ed. (London: Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode for H.M.S.O., 1852), 86. On the foundation of SKM, see *Journal of the History of Collections* 14, issue 1 (May 2002). Anthony Burton, *Vision & Accident: The Story of the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V&A Publications, 1999).

¹⁵⁴ Owen Jones, ‘Observations’, in *A Catalogue of the Museum of Ornamental Art at Marlborough House, Pall Mall: For the Use of Students and Manufacturers, and the Public.*, by Museum of Ornamental Art and Department of Science and Art, 5th ed. (London: Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode for H.M.S.O., 1853), 5.

¹⁵⁵ Jones, 5.

¹⁵⁶ Stacey Sloboda, ‘The Grammar of Ornament: Cosmopolitanism and Reform in British Design’, *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 3 (1 October 2008), 223.

¹⁵⁷ Sloboda, 233.

¹⁵⁸ Sloboda, 227. Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: Day and Son, 1856).

¹⁵⁹ Sloboda, 230.

In the 1850s, East Asian ceramics was a marginal area of the SKM's activities in collecting and display. In 1853, the Queen Victoria (1819–1902) collection of 'Oriental and Old Sèvres Porcelain' was exhibited under the curation of John Charles Robinson (1824–1913). East Asian ceramics were classified as 'Indian', which indicates a lack of knowledge of individual objects at the time without separating countries of origin.¹⁶⁰ However, subsequently, East Asian ceramics became an independent category of ceramics at SKM in parallel with the overall development of its ceramic collection. By 1856, the Museum of Ornamental Art enriched its ceramic collection by acquisitions from two collectors, Ralph Bernal (1783–1854) and James Brandinel (1783–1849).¹⁶¹ In particular, the Bernal collection had a great impact on both private and public collecting in mid nineteenth-century Britain of what is called 'decorative arts' including East Asian ceramics as there were not so many comparable collections of such kind before his.¹⁶² The Bernal sale in 1855 and the second sale from his collection filled the gaps of collections at both SKM and British Museum.¹⁶³ Both Bernal and Brandinel mainly collected European ceramics, but their collections included ceramics from

¹⁶⁰ J. C. Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental and Old Sèvres Porcelain, the Property of Her Majesty the Queen: Deposited for Exhibition in the Museum of the Department* (London: Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode for H.M.S.O., 1853), 5.

¹⁶¹ Digital Media Victoria and Albert Museum, 'The Formation of the Ceramics Collections' (Victoria and Albert Museum, 13 January 2011), accessed 20 June 2020, <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/f/formation-of-the-ceramics-collections/>. Naomi Speakman, 'Gothic Ivory Carvings of the British Museum: Interpretations, Forgeries and Collectors' (PhD diss, London: The Courtauld Institute of Art, 2019), 118–120.

¹⁶² Arthur MacGregor, 'Collectors, Connoisseurs and Curators in the Victorian Age', in *A.W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum*, ed. Marjorie Caygill and John Cherry (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1997), 24.

¹⁶³ MacGregor, 24. William Chamber and Robert Chamber, 'The Old-China Mania', *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science, and Art*, 4th, no. 590 (17 April 1875), 242. R. G. W Anderson, 'Early Scientific Instruments and Horology', in *A.W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum*, ed. Marjorie Caygill and John Cherry (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1997), 288. The Museum of Ornamental art purchased the Bernal collection for £5000 in 1955, and again acquired the second sales from the collection in the next year at a much higher price.

different regions of the world. The inventory of the embryonic SKM of 1856 lists 67 entries for ‘Oriental Porcelain and Earthenware’ from China and Japan following seven records for ‘Old Saxon Red Stoneware’ among 4176 entries of Pottery.¹⁶⁴

Display of Antiquities, the British Museum, 1862

While the SKM held the special exhibition with loaned objects, the British Museum also tried to attract the public in the year of the International Exhibition. The Museum extended the opening hours and published a guide to the exhibitions for the convenience of the visitors.¹⁶⁵

Unlike today, at that time, the museum’s collection of antiquities shared the limited space with the Natural History collection and Library. The guide shows us the allocation of rooms for the different types of collections in the Museum and how it was under the process of developing the classification of its objects. The collection of ‘Antiquities’ was divided into sculptures and smaller remains.¹⁶⁶ The former series—represented by Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek and Roman monuments—were exhibited on the Lower Floor.¹⁶⁷ The latter ‘whatever nation or periods, such as Vases and Terracottas, Bronzes, Coins, and Medals, and articles of personal or domestic use’ was displayed along with ‘Ethnographical’ objects.¹⁶⁸

Although the details are unknown, Japanese ceramics were presented either ethnographically or materially in the British Museum gallery in 1862. Visitors found Chinese and Japanese

¹⁶⁴ J. C. Robinson, *Inventory of the Objects Forming the Collections of the Museum of Ornamental Art* (London: Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode for H.M.S.O., 1856), 28–30.

¹⁶⁵ British Museum, *A Guide to the Exhibition Rooms of the Departments of Natural History and Antiquities*. (London: Printed by order of the Trustees, 1862), i.

¹⁶⁶ Edward Howkins, ‘Department of Antiquities’, in British Museum, *A Guide to the Exhibition Rooms of the Departments of Natural History and Antiquities*. (London: Printed by order of the Trustees, 1862), 49.

¹⁶⁷ Howkins, 49.

¹⁶⁸ Howkins, 49.

ceramics in Room 26 of the Upper Floor along with the Ethnographic collection, where ‘the antiquities and the objects in modern use, belonging to all nations not of European race’ were arranged geographically from East to West (yellow part of Fig. 8).¹⁶⁹ Five cases were allocated to China and Japan in the room, and porcelain and lacquerware were displayed together on Shelf 3.¹⁷⁰ English and European ceramics were exhibited in the next British and Medieval Room (Room 25), which connected to the Principal Corridor (blue part of Fig. 8).¹⁷¹

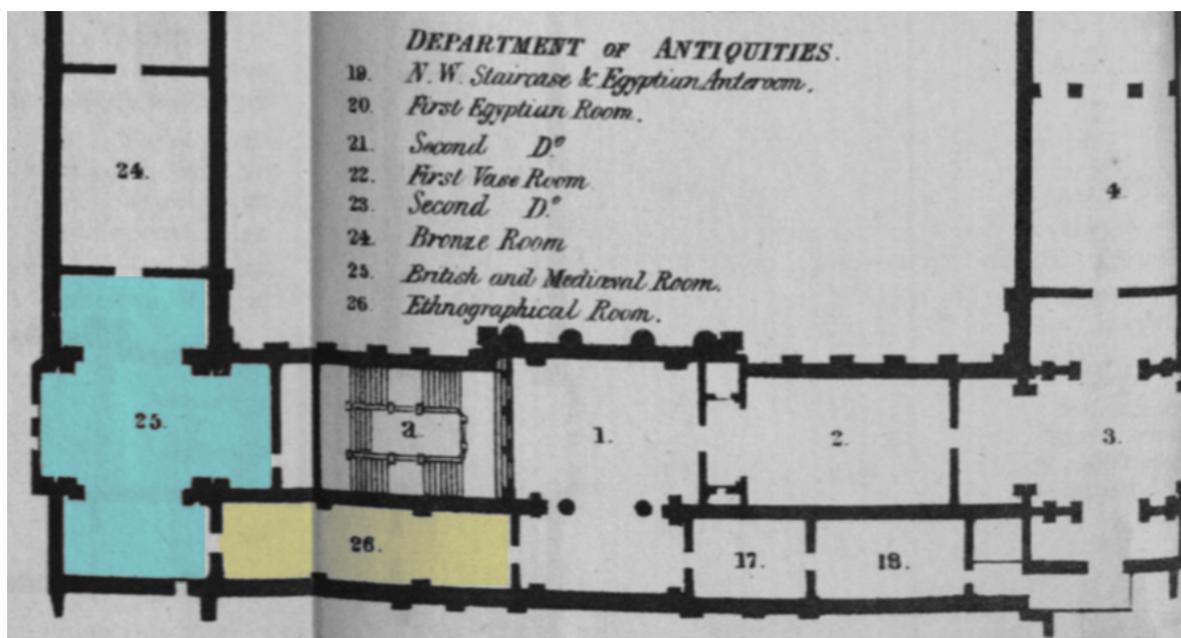


Fig. 8 British and Medieval Room (25) and Ethnographical Room (26) at Upper Floor of the British Museum, 1862.

Intentionally or unintentionally, the spacious allocation for East Asian ceramics and European ceramics in neighbouring rooms might have made the visitors associate them during their walk through the rooms. This also anticipates the dual frameworks of Japanese

¹⁶⁹ Howkins, 102.

¹⁷⁰ Howkins, 102–3. Religious and animal figures were exhibited in cases 1–2 in Shelf 1, which included those made in porcelain.

¹⁷¹ Howkins, 101–2.

ceramics as either ethnological objects or ceramic material found in Franks's publication in 1878–1880.

The Franks Collection at the Bethnal Green Museum, 1875–1878

In 1875, Franks' collection of East Asian ceramics was exhibited at BGM along with other loaned collections which enriched the public museum display. At the opening of the Museum, Sir Richard Wallace (1818–1890), whose collection is now housed in the Wallace Collection at Manchester Square, London, received a place of honour at the North Gallery Staircase for his private collection that starred in the new public museum.¹⁷² In 1875, the Wallace Collection was returned to Wallace.¹⁷³ The *Art Journal* praised the successful replacement of the highly representational collection with other private collections, in which ceramic collections occupied the greatest share.¹⁷⁴ Franks's collection was a part of them and a highlight.

Franks's ceramic collection from China and Japan was situated among and seen as a branch of world ceramics in the North Gallery of the Museum. The gallery had glazed exhibition cases for 'decorative art', in which the ceramic collection was categorised.¹⁷⁵ Starting with Greek and Etruscan vessels, ceramic works including East Asian ceramics were gathered in

¹⁷² Ceremonial of the Opening of the Bethnal Green Museum by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, on Behalf of Her Majesty The Queen: On Monday the 24th of June 1872 at a Quarter-Past Twelve o'clock. (London? [H.M.S.O.?], 1872), 4th page (no page number).

¹⁷³ 'Bethnal Green Museum', 336.

¹⁷⁴ 'Bethnal Green Museum', 336.

¹⁷⁵ Frederic George Stephens, *A Companion to the Pictures and Sculptures, and Works of Decorative Art in the Bethnal Green Museum* (London: Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1876), 29. Stephens was a member of the Pre-Raphaelite brothers was a leading art critic at the art journal *Athenaeum* until 1901. More about Stephens, see Dianne Sachko Macleod, 'Stephens, Frederic George (1827–1907)', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 23 September 2004), accessed 25 June 25, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/36272>.

the gallery.¹⁷⁶ Japanese porcelain in Franks's collection, described as 'remarkable for their colouring and delicate ornaments' was displayed in the Cases VI–VII near the cases for his Chinese porcelain collection.¹⁷⁷ The author of the guide explains the significance of the collection 'to facilitate comparisons' between the Japanese and Chinese specimens.¹⁷⁸

Franks' collection was surrounded by Japanese, Chinese, European and British ceramics lent by different collectors. For example, besides the Franks collection, R. H. Soden Smith (1822–1890), art librarian of SKM exhibited his collection of 'Oriental porcelain and pottery of varied dates and qualities, forms, and purposes' in Cases III–VI.¹⁷⁹

The display of world ceramics could be seen not only from the material perspective but also from the formal comparison. A cross-cultural typological display was adopted at the BGM when Franks' collection was exhibited. From 1874, the Lane Fox (a.k.a Pitt-Rivers) collection of anthropological material was exhibited, which included Japanese bows among other weapons.¹⁸⁰ Lane Fox's collection was driven by 'sociological interest' in the development and transmission of ideas.¹⁸¹ However, even within the comparative mode of display for decorative arts, the type of utensils served as a common criterion of display.

The 1870s saw increasing interest in vessels for domestic use from different parts of the world. For example, the Annual International Exhibition of 1873, which dedicated a building

¹⁷⁶ Stephens, 29–38.

¹⁷⁷ Stephens, 31–2.

¹⁷⁸ Stephens, 32.

¹⁷⁹ Stephens, 31.

¹⁸⁰ Augustus Henry Lane Fox, *Catalogue of the Anthropological Collection: Lent by Colonel Lane Fox for Exhibition in the Bethnal Green Branch of the South Kensington Museum, June 1874* (London: Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode for H.M.S.O., 1874), 60. Alison Petch, 'Assembling and Arranging: The Pitt Rivers' Collections, 1850–2001', in *Collectors: Individuals and Institutions*, ed. Anthony Shelton, (London: Horniman Museum, 2001), 248. The collection was transferred to Oxford in 1884.

¹⁸¹ Lane Fox, xiii.

for ‘Ancient Objects’ for the first time in its exhibition history, gathered utensils for tobacco and drinking as well as other tableware mainly from the past but also with other regions and modern works.¹⁸² Franks, a passionate collector of drinking vessels contributed to the exhibition pieces from his private collection such as English horn boxes for tobacco, a silver drinking vessel from Caucasus, gourd vessels for tea called Bombillas from Montevideo.¹⁸³ In this exhibition, Japanese works were featured in the sections of pipes, snuff bottles, and teapots.¹⁸⁴ A Japanese teapot in the form of a gourd with a mushroom on the top was exhibited along with Chinese, Böttger’s, Dresden, and Staffordshire teapots.¹⁸⁵ The display of teaware from around the world in this exhibition could be seen as an additional thread in the comparative display of ceramics, which evolved into a focus on tea culture. Also, the exhibition shows two trends that were established which helped to position Japanese ceramics more prominently in displays: world ceramics as a category and greater interest in Asian art.

The two trends were still evident in displays of Japanese objects that continued in the BGM displays in 1875. While Franks exhibited Japanese ceramics as representative of a branch of world ceramics, W. J. Alt’s (1840–1908) collection was exhibited on the right side of the Lower Gallery at BGM in 1875–6, a section solely dedicated to objects from Japan.¹⁸⁶ The founder of a trading company, Alt & Co., benefited from exporting Japanese tea.¹⁸⁷ He

¹⁸² C. Drury Fortnum, ‘Report on Ancient Objects’, *The Journal of the Society of Arts* 21, no. 1071 (1873): 539, 543. The Annual International Exhibition, London was held in 1871–4.

¹⁸³ Fortnum, 540–2. Franks, ‘The Apology of My Life’, 323. Caygill, ‘Franks and the British Museum’, 100. The drinking vessels was an area that Franks formed his collection. Around 153 vessels were donated to the British Museum as a part of Franks Bequest.

¹⁸⁴ Fortnum, 539, 540, 542.

¹⁸⁵ Fortnum, 542.

¹⁸⁶ Stephens, *A Companion to the Pictures and Sculptures, and Works of Decorative Art in the Bethnal Green Museum*, 38.

¹⁸⁷ For Alt, see Brian Burke-Gaffney, *Nagasaki: The British Experience, 1854–1945* (Leiden:

regarded Japan as a new School of Art, where British and European manufactures copied and learned from the works.¹⁸⁸ The design trend in the French industry was recognised as something that the British industry had to follow up. In his catalogue, Alt mentions the Paris exhibition of 1867 as the turning point for the French to learn the new design before the British did.¹⁸⁹ His collection gathered all kinds of Japanese objects from lacquerware, ceramics, paintings to coins.¹⁹⁰

Franks and Alt shared the same attitude about encyclopaedic displays. In the same way Franks tried to collect a complete collection, Alt included both rare and common examples to represent the industrial art of Japan.¹⁹¹ While praising Audsley and Bowes' gorgeous publication of *Keramic Art of Japan* and Alcock's series of articles on Japanese art in *Art Journal*, Alt emphasises the democratic significance of his collection catalogue 'at a price within the reach of all'.¹⁹² He tried to communicate with the public beyond the closed circles of connoisseurs and artists through his collection on public display and in publications. However, Alt intended to illustrate the 'national traits' of Japanese works and culture through his collection which was acquired during his twelve years stay in Japan from 1859 to 1871.¹⁹³ The collector legitimated his collection through his interaction with 'princes and officers of the Japanese Government', who gifted him objects, though the collection was 'complemented' by new acquisitions by the collector himself to demonstrate what he

BRILL, 2009), 30–33. Alt's house at Glover Garden in Nagasaki is preserved as Important Cultural Property.

¹⁸⁸ W. J. Alt, *Catalogue of a Collection of Articles of Japanese Art* (London: Printed for H.M. Stationery Office by G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1876), vii.

¹⁸⁹ Alt, vii.

¹⁹⁰ Stephens, 38.

¹⁹¹ Alt, ix.

¹⁹² Alt, ix. Audsley and Bowes, *Keramic Art of Japan*. Rutherford Alcock, 'Japanese Art', *Art Journal* 14 (1875): 101–5, 201–6, 333–35. Rutherford Alcock, 'Japanese Art', *Art Journal* 15 (1876): 41–44, 113–16.

¹⁹³ Alt, ix.

considered the whole picture of Japanese art from objects used for everyday life to luxurious works.¹⁹⁴

Alt's Japanese art collection was promoted as authentic and this is closely linked to the exclusiveness of the collector's communication with native Japanese of high ranks. Prior to Alt's exhibition, Japanese works of art were displayed as proof and souvenirs of world travels by privileged British men who enjoyed exclusive access to foreign countries before the age of widespread world travelling. An early example of this type of exhibition was organised for the Duke of Edinburgh (1844–1900) in 1872 at the SKM. His five years of travelling around the world including Japan in 1869 resulted in an accumulation of gifts, letters, and even specially composed music for the Duke from the countries he visited.¹⁹⁵ The natural specimens and works of art and arms were arranged, for the most part, according to the country of origin and promoted the friendship between Britain and these countries.¹⁹⁶ The floor plan of the exhibition reveals that Chinese and Japanese objects occupied half of the exhibition cases.¹⁹⁷ The *Art Journal* reports that 'the splendid collection of Japanese manufacture' was shown in the exhibition.¹⁹⁸ Underlined by the limited availability of domestic objects used by the Japanese, the Japanese collection was displayed to the public as a window into the country through the eyes of privileged travellers. Alt's collecting of Japanese art also fits into this category.

¹⁹⁴ Alt, ix.

¹⁹⁵ *A Guide to the Works of Art and Science: Collected by Captain His Royal Highness The Duke of Edinburgh, K.G., during His Five-Years' Cruise Round the World in H.M.S. 'Galatea' (1867–1871) and Lent for Exhibition in the South Kensington Museum, February, 1872.*, 3rd ed. (London: Printed by John Strangeways, 1872).

¹⁹⁶ *Five-Years' Cruise Round the World*, 7.

¹⁹⁷ *Five-Years' Cruise Round the World*, 76–7.

¹⁹⁸ F. R. C, 'The Art of Japan', *Art Journal* 11 (1 December 1872): 293–95.

The increasing interest in the late 1870s in domestic ware for the Japanese, which can be seen in both the Franks and Alt collections at BGM, coincides with SKM's purchase of the Japanese ceramics collection from the Philadelphia exhibition of 1876. It was during the period called *Japonisme* when intensive interaction between the Japanese and non-Japanese was seen in diplomacy, commerce, and academic exchange. However, the internationalization of ceramic study and comparative display of decorative arts from the 1850s gradually fostered the seeds of appreciating objects from different cultures, which intersects with the ethnographical research and display.

The Franks Collection at the British Museum, the 1880s

In 1885, the Franks collection of East Asian ceramics was transferred to the British Museum after the Museum secured the space by removing the Natural History collection.¹⁹⁹ 'Oriental porcelain and pottery' mainly composed of the Franks collection filled half of the Asiatic Saloon, which was located in between the Medieval Gallery and the English Ceramic Ante-Room, according to the Museum guide published in 1888.²⁰⁰ This location suggests that the spacious allocation of Chinese and Japanese ceramics at the British Museum has not changed much since the 1860s. Also, the display of Japanese ceramics next to Chinese, Korean and South-East Asian counterparts still shows the comparative framework of Franks collection shown at BGM from 1875.²⁰¹

Besides the continuing geographical and comparative mode of display, there was an attempt to illustrate the development of Japanese material culture through ceramics. The display of

¹⁹⁹ Harrison-Hall, 'Oriental Pottery and Porcelain', 220–30.

²⁰⁰ British Museum, *A Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum, Bloomsbury* ([London] Printed by order of the Trustees, 1888), 199.

²⁰¹ British Museum, 201.

Japanese ceramics started with prehistoric vessels and remains from tombs at Cases 31–2, which included objects acquired from Henry von Siebold (Heinrich Phillip, 1852–1908).²⁰² In Case 33, Japanese ceramics from historical periods began with Karatsu and Seto wares, moving on to three cases of ‘a series of jars for holding powdered tea’, followed by pieces made of earthenware, stoneware, and finally, porcelain according to the regions of production. The flow of the display starting with ancient ware and examples of teaware corresponds to Franks’s introductory remarks for *Japanese Pottery* (1880) which featured tea culture as an important context for the development of the industry.²⁰³ Whipped tea culture received special attention not only in Oriental ceramics but also in the Japanese art section in the Asiatic Saloon. In Cases 27–30 for Japanese art, a series of utensils for whipped tea and a figure attributed as Rikyū were exhibited next to Noh masks.²⁰⁴ Now the tea culture is no longer just a context for the development of Japanese ceramics, but it also independently represents Japanese art.

²⁰² British Museum, 202.

²⁰³ Franks, *Japanese Pottery*.

²⁰⁴ British Museum, *A Guide to the Exhibition Galleries*, 201. There is no figure of Rikyū registered at the British Museum. However, a figure from the British Museum is introduced as ‘Carved and Lacquered Statuette of Sen-no Rikyū’ in W. Harding Smith, ‘The Cha-No-Yu, or Tea Ceremony’, *Transactions and Proceedings of Japan Society, London 5* (1902), Plate 1. This figure was donated from Franks. Figure of a townsman, carved wood in *yosegi* construction, with lacquer, pigments and crystal eyes, Height: 42.5 cm, Width: 45 cm, seventeenth-eighteenth century, Edo period, British Museum, 1885,1227.98. ‘Explore the Collection’, The British Museum, accessed 14 March 2021, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/search>.

Chapter Two: Franks's Collecting Infrastructure

Franks's collecting was not an individual act of assembling objects but a cooperative process to create a national collection involving various individuals in a wide range of fields. In this chapter, Franks's involvement in British institutional collecting is considered essential to the purpose, method and strategy of his collecting of Japanese ceramics. Secondly, international Oriental Studies from the 1870s are analysed as another thread in the creating of values for objects and culture from Japan. The third part discusses his antiquary identity as a foundation for his different activities as a scholar and collector of world cultures and how the development of modern disciplines from antiquarianism shifted the framework for Franks's Japanese ceramic collection.

2.1 Franks's Institutional Collecting

Franks enjoyed collecting and he expressed his habit as an 'incurable' malady inherited from his family.²⁰⁵ However, the core of Franks's motivation was to assemble objects that made a contribution to the public. Franks recounts, 'The form of collecting has varied in each generation, but I think I may say that my collecting propensities have been the most profitable to the public.'²⁰⁶ Like other fields of his interest such as British antiquities, his collecting was associated with an institutional practice and the majority of Japanese ceramics was assembled during his curatorship at the British Museum. This section concerns Franks's institutional collecting for the British Museum in order to position his Japanese ceramic collection in the wider practice of his and the Museum's collecting. Institutional collecting is discussed as a purpose, as a method, and as a strategy to establish a British national collection. The dichotomy of the institutional and the private is reconsidered to draw a wider

²⁰⁵ Franks, 'The Apology of My Life', 318.

²⁰⁶ Franks, 318.

picture of ‘collecting for the public’ in mid to late nineteenth-century Britain. His gathering of Japanese ceramics is a collaborative practice involving various agents.

Collecting for the public by an institution is generally regarded as ‘institutional collecting’, which opposes individual collecting. Russel W. Belk characterises the nature of institutional collecting as ‘the lack of individual feelings of acquisition and possession of objects’, the larger impact on the market than that of individuals, and the power of justifying particular objects worth being assembled.²⁰⁷ A curator, who obtains and exhibits objects ‘for the benefit of others’ is contrasted to a private collector, who gathers objects for enjoyment.²⁰⁸ However, the top-down model of institutional versus individual collecting neglects the mutual influence of institutions and individuals. Private collectors can influence public institutions in various ways. For example, market trends are influenced by collectors, which have an impact on institutional collecting. In reality, public institutions are usually not wealthier than individual collectors. Donations from individual collectors frequently direct the policy of collecting for institutions.

Another problem with institutional collecting is that the subjective meaning of ‘for the public’ is unquestioned. A public institution and a curator of the institution are not identical.

Individuals serving an institution decide what to acquire and how to organise them. In a manner that would be unusual today, Franks’s collecting does not always follow the will of the institution, or people in higher positions in the organisation, for example the Trustees.

Franks expanded the areas of museum collection by purchasing objects with his own

²⁰⁷ Russell W. Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 102.

²⁰⁸ Belk, 125.

money.²⁰⁹ Instead of the conventional model of institutional collecting, this chapter defines Franks's institutional collecting as a collaborative process of making a national reference collection within and outside the institution including private collecting by him and his contemporaries.

Institutional Collecting as a Purpose

Despite the fact that he collected a broad range of objects from different regions, it appears that objects representing and related to Britain were his main concern. In 1852, he explained that the desire to acquire British antiquities arises 'from a wish to form for this nation a collection worthy of it, which shall teach all what manner of men their ancestors were.'²¹⁰ Interestingly, collecting British objects for a national museum had been an uncommon practice before Franks. The Trustees of the British Museum regarded British Antiquities as unimportant.²¹¹ The idea that a national museum should house artefacts indigenous to the nation was not proposed by the British Museum but Franks himself. His interest in British antiquities was cultivated at the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, of which he himself was a founding member.²¹² This may correspond to the increase of 'romantic nationalism' in nineteenth-century England, which romanticizes the disappearing pastoral lifestyle in the modern industrial age and invents historical identity from surviving antiquities of the Medieval time.²¹³

²⁰⁹ T. W. Potter, 'Later Prehistory and Roman Britain: The Formation of the National Collections', in *A. W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum*, ed. Marjorie Caygill and John Cherry (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1997), 133.

²¹⁰ Augustus W. Franks, 'The Collection of British Antiquities in the British Museum', *Archaeological Journal* 9, no. 1 (1852), 15.

²¹¹ Potter, 131.

²¹² Franks, 'The Apology of My Life'. 318.

²¹³ Susan M. Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*, The Collecting Cultures Series (London: Routledge, 1995), 141. George W. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1991), 53–6.

Ethnographic objects such as ‘a set of Abyssinian chessmen’, boats and bows from North America, combs and wigs from New Guinea, mirrors and musical instruments from China and Japan, mummies from large jars found in New Granada, and matting made in New Zealand were believed to be another important subject to be included in the national collection.²¹⁴ Franks personally donated over nine thousand objects of this category, in five years, to the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography.²¹⁵ The largest volume of ethnographic and prehistoric artefacts from Henry Christy was acquired by the British Museum under Franks’s keepership, which was to help the understanding of ‘European prehistory’ by the comparison with the cultures of ‘primitive peoples’.²¹⁶ Therefore, it is possible to speculate that Franks’s collecting of objects from other cultures was associated with the collecting of his own culture.

However, it is doubtful if Franks was interested in Japanese culture from the beginning of his collecting, for his early collection is characterised by export porcelain from China and Japan, which were popular items for European interior decoration in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century (Fig. 9). It is highly likely that Japanese porcelain was a material comparable to modern British and European porcelain, which is his other field of collecting and research.²¹⁷ This comparative function of a public collection is explained below.

²¹⁴ British Museum, *A Guide to the Exhibition Rooms of the Departments of Natural History and Antiquities*. (London: Printed by order of the Trustees, 1862), 103–4.

²¹⁵ J. C. H. King, ‘Franks and Ethnography’, in *A. W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum*, ed. Marjorie Caygill and John Cherry (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1997), 136.

²¹⁶ H. J. Braunholtz, ‘History of Ethnography in the Museum after 1753 (Pt. I)’, *The British Museum Quarterly* 18, no. 3 (1953), 91.

²¹⁷ ‘[Franks’s Notes on Porcelain Manufactory at Bow] Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute’, *Archaeological Journal* 8 (1851), 204–5. He delivered a paper on Bow porcelain in the same year he began his work at the British Museum.



Fig. 9 Hexagonal lidded jar with design of flower, Kakiemon style, Arita ware, 1670–1690, Franks collection.

Institutional Collecting as a Method

Institutional collecting is a means to make a group of objects referenceable. For Franks, a national collection was to be a useful reference for the public. The referential function of a public museum is repeatedly stated in his articles. Concluding an article about the acquisitions to the British Museum in 1854, Franks points out that one can only easily consult objects at a public museum, stressing the museum's function for preserving objects safely.²¹⁸ In Franks's article on British antiquities in 1852, he insists that the accumulation of objects in one place advances the study of British antiquities, which was less studied at that time:

²¹⁸ Augustus W. Franks, 'The Additions to the Collections of National Antiquities in the British Museum', *Archaeological Journal* 11 (1854), 32.

till a large mass of antiquities has been brought together from various parts of England and properly arranged, it will be impossible to make great advances in the study of our early antiquities.²¹⁹

Not surprisingly, regarding the concentration of materials for meaningful linked knowledge,

Franks also places a higher value on a national museum over local public museums:

Local museums are institutions of great value, as they rescue from destruction many relics which would otherwise be lost, and they encourage a local feeling of reverence for the memorials of the past. Still their claims are very inferior to those of a national collection. Objects of great importance to the archaeologist often lie buried in these far distant receptacles, affording him facts of the highest value as links in a great chain, but in their isolation perfectly useless.²²⁰

Besides the concentration of objects, the comprehensiveness of a public collection is derived from the ability to compare and contrast among different objects. It is pointed out that Edward Howkins, the Keeper of Antiquities at the British Museum, influenced Franks in the method of 'scientific' display by 'combination, concentration and comparison'.²²¹ The comparison was seen to be an essential means to classify things within a group as well as between groups.

Simultaneously, Franks's method of comparing one group and another group results in the expansion of his collection from objects of Britain to other cultures. In the *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Mediæval, Renaissance, and More Recent Periods* (1862), he compares Chinese and Persian enamels to European enamels as well as Chinese and Japanese porcelain to Middle Eastern ceramics.²²² Curated by J. C. Robinson at SKM, the

²¹⁹ Augustus W. Franks, 'The Collection of British Antiquities in the British Museum', 14.

²²⁰ Franks, 14.

²²¹ Potter, 'Later Prehistory and Roman Britain: The Formation of the National Collections', 130.

²²² J. C. Robinson ed, *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Mediæval, Renaissance, and More Recent Periods: On Loan at the South Kensington Museum, June 1862* (London: G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1862), 299, 375.

exhibition was held in the New South Court, which was newly prepared to accommodate viewers who came to London for the International Exhibition of the same year.²²³ Franks participated in the exhibition as a research contributor and lender.²²⁴ East Asian ceramics at the time of the exhibition are somewhat marginalized in ceramic studies in general. However, greater interest in non-Western ceramics was demonstrated by collections of Middle Eastern ceramics. Both suggest a wider move towards looking at/collecting ceramics from a world perspective.

Franks's collection contributed to the wider discussion, then current, of identifying the lesser-known objects in comparison with other examples from different collections. The exhibition demonstrated the lack of understanding of non-European ceramics, which received no dating in the catalogue, in contrast to the European ones. Despite the undeveloped knowledge, Persian earthenware was favoured by British collectors in the mid nineteenth century. The newly 're-discovered' ceramics produced in the Middle East received great attention in comparison with European Renaissance ceramics, especially Italian maiolica.²²⁵ The interest in Renaissance earthenware and stoneware ceramics was a new nineteenth-century craze among amateur collectors and artists such as Frederic Leighton (1830–1896). The widening interest in world ceramics paralleled the re-evaluation of antique ceramics of European and British origins. The study of maiolica in Britain was stimulated by French scholars like

²²³ Henry Cole, 'Copy of Minute Directing the Formation of the Collection', in Robinson, ed., *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Medieval, Renaissance, and More Recent Periods*, ii.

²²⁴ Robinson ed., *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Medieval, Renaissance, and More Recent Periods*. Franks wrote introductions for four categories: ivory carvings, Limoges painted enamels, miscellaneous enamels, and glass.

²²⁵ Francesca Vanke, 'The Contribution of C. D. E. Fortnum to the Historiography and Collecting of Islamic Ceramics', *Journal of the History of Collections* 11, no. 2 (1 January 1999), 219.

Brongniart, who started collecting the type in the 1840s.²²⁶ However, Franks, Robinson, and their peer collector C. Drury Fortnum (1820–1899) established their status as collectors of Islamic ware by the 1860s.²²⁷

Compared to its Persian counterparts, ‘Oriental’, in fact, Chinese porcelain, was listed in the last section of the exhibition catalogue as ‘Porcelain and Other Pottery’. The exhibition showed nine ‘Oriental (Chinese) porcelains’, mostly from the property of Queen Victoria, but Franks lent a ‘Chinese porcelain bottle’ with a dragon design decorated with overglaze red and green enamels and underglaze cobalt blue.²²⁸ The proportion of Chinese porcelain was small and marginalised in the realm of ceramics. However, the comparative approach to the study of the transfer of technology and design is observed in his collection of ceramics from Britain, Europe, the Middle East as well as China and Japan. Rachel Ward claims that Franks was interested in the ‘relationship’ between European and Islamic decorative art rather than Islamic culture.²²⁹ This relational framework for objects was devised to accommodate his Japanese and Chinese collection in the 1870s.

Franks and his contemporary Pitt-Rivers are often categorised in the same group of collectors identified as having systematic and scientific motivations.²³⁰ However, John Mack points out that Franks’s display was rather holistic compared to Pitt-Rivers, who aimed to establish

²²⁶ Vanke, 219.

²²⁷ Vanke, 222.

²²⁸ Robinson ed., *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Medieval, Renaissance, and More Recent Periods*, 309.

²²⁹ Rachel Ward, “‘Islamism, Not an Easy Matter’”, in *A.W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum*, ed. Marjorie Caygill and John Cherry (London: British Museum Press, 1997), 273.

²³⁰ For example, Anthony Shelton, ‘Introduction: The Return of the Subject’, in *Collectors: Expressions of Self and Other*, ed. Anthony Shelton, Contributions in Critical Museology and Material Culture (London: Horniman Museum and Gardens, 2001), 13.

‘didactic’ ethnographic displays based on the social evolutionary theory.²³¹ The evolutionary theory, which Pitt-Rivers advocated, is frequently considered as a standard theory applied in the display of objects in museums in the nineteenth century.²³² However, the relationship between theory and display is considerably different between the two collectors. For Pitt-Rivers, a group of ethnological objects represents the development of humankind.²³³ On the other hand, for Franks, a collection of objects shows the customs of people.²³⁴ Jill Cook points out that Franks showed his conservatism towards new ideas of the time such as the Three Age System of dating, but later he adopted it ‘as if nothing had happened’.²³⁵ Pitt-Rivers’s collection illustrates a theory while the theory was not Franks’s organizing principle.

Institutional Collecting as a Strategy

Franks obtained and studied objects for creating the national collection in collaborations with different agents inside and outside the British Museum. The network of the British Empire enabled Franks to acquire objects and information from outside Britain via British officers, diplomats, workers, and travellers in colonies and foreign countries.²³⁶ For example, in 1891,

²³¹ John Mack, ‘Antiquities and the Public: The Expanding Museum, 1851–96’, in *A.W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum*, ed. Marjorie Caygill and John Cherry (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1997), 47.

²³² Sharon MacDonald, ‘Collecting Practices’, in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. Sharon MacDonald, Blackwell Companions in Cultural Studies (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2006), 87. King, ‘Franks and Ethnography’, 139.

²³³ David K. van Keuren, ‘Museums and Ideology: Augustus Pitt-Rivers, Anthropological Museums, and Social Change in Later Victorian Britain’, *Victorian Studies* 28, no. 1 (1984), 175.

²³⁴ Franks, ‘The Collection of British Antiquities in the British Museum’, 15. Franks, the British Museum Central Archive Officer’s Reports, 10 February 1868, cited in King, ‘Franks and Ethnography’, 140.

²³⁵ Jill Cook, ‘A Curator’s Curator: Franks and the Stone Age Collection’, in *A.W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum*, ed. Marjorie Caygill and John Cherry (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1997), 119.

²³⁶ British Association for the Advancement of Science, *A Manual of Ethnological Inquiry*;

Franks asked the assistance of Colonel Sir C. Euan Smith (1842–1910) in Morocco to acquire specimens of ‘rarely of any beauty’ but ‘the commonest things of the country’ to develop the Morocco section at the British Museum.²³⁷ The formation of his collection and knowledge of Japanese ceramics also involves British diplomats in Japan. The first edition of his catalogue of East Asian ceramics includes a British diplomat, A.B. Mitford’s comments on Japanese ceramics.²³⁸ Franks also acknowledged another diplomat, Ernest Satow (1843–1929) for his assistance in reading marks. Such international connections could be developed through his official work at the museum as well as his memberships of many learned societies and social clubs.²³⁹

A private collector’s club was another resource for Franks for materials and knowledge. The BFAC, where he was a founding member in 1866, provided him with the opportunity of learning about objects among private collectors.²⁴⁰ Franks also belonged to the Athenaeum, a gentleman’s club for socialising with members associated with art and science founded in 1834. However, Stacey Pierson points out that the new collector’s club featured active discussion and exhibitions of their collections of art.²⁴¹ Franks’s collecting for the British Museum overlaps with his activity and participation in this private group of art collectors. In 1868, the same year that he published the catalogue of his collection of East Asian ceramics,

Being a Series of Questions Concerning the Human Race, Prepared by a Sub-Committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Appointed in 1851, and Adapted for the Use of Travellers and Others, in Studying the Varieties of Man. (London: Printed by Taylor and Francis, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, 1852). See also Appendix C.

²³⁷ The British Museum Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities Archive, Franks/Smith, 26 May 1891, 396, cited in King, ‘Franks and Ethnography’, 142–3.

²³⁸ Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 1st ed., 65, 82.

²³⁹ Caygill, ‘Franks and the British Museum’, 90–92.

²⁴⁰ Stacey Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums: The Field of Chinese Ceramics in Britain, 1560-1960* (Oxford: P. Lang, 2007), 76.

²⁴¹ Stacey Pierson, *Private Collecting, Exhibitions, and the Shaping of Art History in London: The Burlington Fine Arts Club*, Kindle, loc. 403.

BFAC held an exhibition entitled ‘Oriental Porcelain’. The following year, the club held an exhibition of ‘Oriental Art and Manufactures’. Franks’s involvement in these two exhibitions is unrecorded as they published no catalogues of these exhibitions.²⁴² However, it is certain that his assembling of arts from the East parallels the tendency of collecting among other private collectors in the club. In 1873, they had an exhibition of ‘English and Continental Porcelain’ and published a catalogue with photographs of the display, where Franks was one of the contributors.²⁴³ In 1875, there was an exhibit of Japanese lacquerware, which was another area of Franks’s collecting for the British Museum.²⁴⁴ Another Franks contribution is recorded in the exhibition catalogue of ‘Japanese and Chinese works of Art’ in 1878 when he published the second edition of his catalogue of East Asian ceramics.²⁴⁵ His involvement in themed exhibitions in various fields continued until the late stage of his life.²⁴⁶

In this strategic institutional collecting, Franks acquired objects and knowledge through British networks outside Britain, academic communities, private connections and the combination of some of these. Ward argues that for Franks, the private collecting was an essential stage to complete his collection before it becomes public.²⁴⁷ She indicates that Franks’s collection invited discussions at SoA and other learned societies in different levels

²⁴² BFAC, ed., *Exhibition Catalogues, 1868–1873* (London: BFAC, 1868–1879).

²⁴³ BFAC, *A Short Description of the English and Continental Porcelain Exhibited June 1873* (London: Spottiswoode & Co., 1873), 6–9, 11, 13. In this exhibition, Franks displayed his collections of Italian, German and English porcelain.

²⁴⁴ BFAC, *Exhibition Catalogues, 1873–1876*. No record is published for the exhibition.

²⁴⁵ BFAC, *Exhibition of Japanese and Chinese Works of Art* (London: Printed for the BFAC, 1878). In this exhibition, Franks displayed three Japanese ceramics.

²⁴⁶ Franks contributed to the exhibitions of Persian and Arab Art (1885), Japanese Lacquer and Metalwork (1894), Blue and White Oriental Porcelain (1895), and Art of Ancient Egypt (1895). BFAC, *Illustrated Catalogue of Specimens of Persian and Arab Art Exhibited in 1885* (London: Printed for the BFAC, 1885). BFAC, *Catalogue of Specimens of Japanese Lacquer and Metal Work Exhibited in 1894* (London: Printed for the BFAC, 1894). BFAC, *Catalogue of Blue & White Oriental Porcelain Exhibited in 1895* (London: Printed for the BFAC, 1895).

²⁴⁷ Ward, “Islamism, Not an Easy Matter”, 276.

of formality from private to semi-official before it entered the British Museum.²⁴⁸ His interaction with private collectors also encouraged the development of their collections, which would be a part of the national collection similar to J. C. Robinson at SKM. Thus, private collecting in nineteenth-century London should be considered not as a separate realm but as an element of institutional collecting.

2.2 Oriental Studies and International Exhibitions in the 1870s

While Franks developed his interest in Japanese ceramics as a part of world ceramics, he also formed knowledge of and scholarly connections in Japanese studies in international communities of Orientalists. The first International Congress of Orientalists (ICO) in Paris, 1873 was a landmark for the growing scholarship in Oriental Studies as well as Japanese Studies. Looking at the competition and cooperation between France and Britain in the examination of objects from Japan, this section explores the process of creating values for Japanese things in the cycle of producing scholarship and displays at the first ICO as well as International Exhibitions in Philadelphia and Paris, held in 1876 and 1878 respectively.

Knowledge and Collections

From the 1st to 11th September 1873, the ICO was held in Paris for the first time.²⁴⁹ This first international conference of Oriental studies featured Japan as a main theme owing to the

²⁴⁸ Ward, 276. H. J. Braunholtz, 'History of Ethnography in the Museum after 1753 (Pt. I)', *The British Museum Quarterly* 18, no. 3 (1953), 92. The British Museum's strong connection with the Anthropological Institute bridged by Franks also should be noted.

²⁴⁹ About ICO, see Pascale Rabault-Feuerhahn, '« Les grandes assises de l'orientalisme ». La question interculturelle dans les congrès internationaux des orientalistes (1873–1912)', *Revue germanique internationale*, no. 12 (8 November 2010), 47–67. Marta Pacheco Pinto, 'Mapping Portuguese Orientalism: The International Congresses of Orientalists (1873–1973). Introduction to a Research Project', in *The Orient in Translation*, ed. Marta Pacheco Pinto and Catarina Nunes de Almeida, ACT 32 (Ribeirão: Húmus, 2017), 167–98.

president Léon de Rosny (1837–1914), a French pioneer in Japanese studies who taught Japanese at l'École spéciale des langues orientales (Special School for Oriental Languages, currently the National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations, Paris) from 1852.²⁵⁰ Japanese Studies at the first ICO covered Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Ainu, and Ryūkyūan matters. In this conference, Franks was acknowledged in Rosny's discussion on Ainu, for Franks showed him artefacts sent from Ezo, currently Hokkaidō.²⁵¹ Uniquely, this first congress targeted industrialists, merchants, and diplomats who had business with the countries discussed.²⁵² This practicality characterises this event in contrast to subsequent congresses where academic disciplines took over the themes.²⁵³ The significant achievement of this first ICO was the establishment of transcription systems for Japanese and other non-Western languages by using Roman alphabets.²⁵⁴ London hosted the second Congress in the subsequent year with its main theme on Egyptology presided over by Samuel Birch (1813–1855), a leading British Egyptologist and Franks's colleague at the British Museum.²⁵⁵ A writer for *Nature* emphasises that hosting the scholarly event in London would enhance public awareness of the significance of Oriental studies, which had been 'too long neglected in Great Britain'.²⁵⁶ The proceedings of the first congress printed in 1874–6 provided a

²⁵⁰ For de Rosny's network in Japanese studies, see Patrick Beillevoire, 'Collaborateurs, correspondants et associés de Léon de Rosny dans le champ des études japonaises' (Genèse des études japonaises en Europe: autour du fonds Léon de Rosny, Lille, 2015), accessed 1 October 2020, <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01953440>.

²⁵¹ Congrès international des orientalistes, Congrès International des orientalistes: compte-rendu de la première session, Paris, 1873, vol. 1 (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1874), 211.

²⁵² Rabault-Feuerhahn, paragraph 11.

²⁵³ Rabault-Feuerhahn, paragraph 11.

²⁵⁴ Rabault-Feuerhahn, paragraph 8. Pinto, 'Mapping Portuguese Orientalism', 180.

²⁵⁵ Congrès international des orientalistes, *Congrès international des orientalistes: compte-rendu de la première session, Paris, 1873*, vol. 3 (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1876), XCII. Birch was the Chairman of the English Committee for the first ICO.

²⁵⁶ 'The International Congress of Orientalists', *Nature* 10, no. 254 (1 September 1874): 375.

valuable resource on a wide range of matters on Japan, not only for French readers but also students in Britain.²⁵⁷

The first ICO discussed Japan in comparison with the West and other Asian regions. The call for participants in Japan explained four purposes of the congress exclusively focussing on the relationship between Japan and the West:

- 1) Establishment of Japanese transcription with Western characters
- 2) Comparison of civilizations (*kaika*) in Japan and the West
- 3) Comparison of science in Japan and the West
- 4) Cooperation between Japanese and Western science.²⁵⁸

On the other hand, the European scholarly community regarded the event as a venue for the comparative study of Japan in Asia. An article on *Le Siècle* defines the event as being for the studies of Japan, China, Tartars, and Indo-China with the special focus of Japan, which addressed the question of ‘the place of Japanese in the history and civilization of Asia in particular, and the world in general’.²⁵⁹

The benefit of the congress for the Japanese was the very fact that they were able to directly present themselves to a western audience. Thirty-four Japanese attended the congress among 1,064 registered participants and Japanese presenters delivered ten papers on Japan and China.²⁶⁰ The participants included Tanaka Fujimaro 田中不二麿 (1845–1909), a diplomat in the Japanese legation in Paris and Imamura Warō 今村和郎 (1846–1891), the representative

²⁵⁷ ‘The International Congress of Orientalists’, 375.

²⁵⁸ Congrès international des orientalistes, *Congrès international des orientalistes*, vol.3, XCVII-C. Pinto, 173.

²⁵⁹ ‘Le Congrès des orientalistes’, *Le Siècle*, 14 August 1873, Archive Burty, Musée national des arts asiatiques - Guimet.

²⁶⁰ Pinto, 181.

of Japan for the congress, who was teaching Japanese in Paris at that time.²⁶¹ They were former members of the Iwakura Mission in 1871–1873, which visited Europe and America to understand Western civilization. This Congress was the first occasion for the Japanese to connect with the intellectual communities in the West, as Samejima Naonobu 鮫島尚信 (1845–1880) stressed in his speech.²⁶² The membership of the Meiji Emperor (1852–1912) in this Congress further emphasises how important the Japanese thought their involvement in the discussion of Oriental Studies in the early 1870s was.²⁶³ The Japanese participation in the international scholarly community corresponds to their active presence as an exhibiter at the International Exhibitions.

Franks was a member of the ICO from the first gathering.²⁶⁴ He even donated the commemorative medal of the first congress to the British Museum.²⁶⁵ Franks's association with the international scholarly body on prehistory was likely to have motivated him to attend the first ICO. The practise of gathering at annual international conferences emerged from the community of prehistoric archaeology in 1866.²⁶⁶ At the third Prehistoric Congress at

²⁶¹ Takada Tokio 高田時雄, *Kokusai Tōyō gakusha Kaigi ni tsuite: fukkokuban Kokusai Tōyō gakusha kaigi kaigiroku bessatsu furoku* 國際東洋學者會議について：復刻版『國際東洋學者會議會議錄』別冊附録 (Tokyo: Edition Synapse, 1998), 2. Congrès international des orientalistes, *Congrès international des orientalistes*, vol.1, 6.

²⁶² Takada, 2.

²⁶³ Congrès international des orientalistes, *Congrès international des orientalistes*, vol.3, CXLVI.

²⁶⁴ Congrès international des orientalistes, *Congrès international des orientalistes*, vol.3, CXXX.

²⁶⁵ Luke Syson, 'The Legacy of Edward Hawkins: Franks as Numismatist', in *A.W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum*, ed. Marjorie Caygill and John Cherry (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1997), 305, footnote 26. Medal, struck copper alloy, diameter 4.2 cm, the British Museum, 1873,1009.2, accessed 18 July 2020, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1873-1009-2.

²⁶⁶ 'The International Congress of Orientalists', 375. Julien Duchâteau, *Une création scientifique française, le premier Congrès international des orientalistes, Paris 1873*. (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1875), 5.

Norwich in 1868, Franks argued that Japan also had a Stone Age.²⁶⁷ A year before the ICO in Paris, the Japanese Stone Age was again discussed at the Prehistoric Congress at Brussels, which he attended.²⁶⁸ The first ICO also discussed Japanese prehistory and Franks's Japanese tomb artefact was cited.²⁶⁹ As Simon Kaner argues, the year 1873 brought significant news in archaeology for the discovery of Troy and in Japan for the finding of a crown and a sword from Eta Funayama's tomb in Kyūshū, which embodied imperial mythologies written in the *Nihon shoki* (Chronicles of Japan).²⁷⁰ Archaeological topics in Japanese Studies at the first ICO must have received attention from not only Japanologists but also archaeologists. The list of members of the first ICO includes Gustave Hagemans (1830–1908), the president of the Royal Academy of Archaeology of Belgium and vice president of the Organising Committee of the Prehistoric Congress of 1872 in Brussels as well as Hans Hildebrand (1842–1913), the Director of the Royal Museum of Archaeology, Stockholm, who introduced the term 'typology' in prehistoric archaeology by 1873.²⁷¹

²⁶⁷ Augustus W. Franks, 'Notes on the Discovery of Stone Implements in Japan', in *International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology: Transactions of the Third Session which Opened at Norwich on the twentieth August and Closed in London on the 28 August 1868*, by International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology. (Norwich and London: Longmans, Green, 1868), 258–268.

²⁶⁸ Congrès international des orientalistes, *Congrès international des orientalistes*, vol.1, 72. Caygill, 'Franks and the British Museum', 86.

²⁶⁹ Congrès international des orientalistes, vol.1, 72.

²⁷⁰ Simon Kaner, 'William Gowland (1842–1922) Pioneer of Japanese Archaeology', in *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits. Vol. VI* ed. Hugh Cortazzi (Folkestone, UK: Global Oriental Ltd., 2007), 273.

²⁷¹ Congrès international des orientalistes, *Congrès international des orientalistes*, vol.3, CXXXIV, CLVII.

Bo Gräslund, *The Birth of Prehistoric Chronology: Dating Methods and Dating Systems in Nineteenth-Century Scandinavian Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 97–9.

Discussing the Orient and examining its objects were twin learning processes. On Sunday the 7th of September, the participants at ICO were welcomed at public and private collections.²⁷² Moreover, the ICO hosted *Exposition de l'extrême Orient (Exhibition of the Far East)* at the Palais de l'industrie as a part of the programme from 11 September 1873. This exhibition remained open until January 1874. Japanese and Chinese art collections mainly from Henri Cernuschi were displayed.²⁷³ Cernuschi travelled to Japan as a part of his journey in Asian countries with an art critic Théodore Duret (1838–1927) and collected objects in Japan from October 1871 to February 1872.²⁷⁴ Japanese ceramics were a part of his exhibits in which bronzes, including a huge statue of Buddha from Meguro, attracted the most visitors.²⁷⁵

Jacquemart reviewed the exhibited Japanese ceramics in *La Gazette des Beaux-Arts*.²⁷⁶ Cernuschi's collection made him aware of 'two parallel industries' of ceramics in Japan: the porcelain, which he regarded as the material of foreign character, and the entirely national 'faïence'.²⁷⁷ However, the regional stoneware and earthenware disappointed the critic who admired the perfection of Japanese porcelain, to which European collectors were

²⁷² Congrès international des orientalistes, Congrès international des orientalistes: compte-rendu de la première session, Paris, 1873, vol. 2 (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1876), 230.

²⁷³ Geneviève Lacambre, 'L'Extrême-Orient dans l'œuvre dessiné de Jules Bourgoïn', in *Collections électroniques de l'INHA. Actes de colloques et livres en ligne de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art* (INHA, 2015), paragraph 10, accessed 2 July 2020, <http://journals.openedition.org/inha/7025>.

²⁷⁴ 'The stages of a journey', Musée Cernuschi, 24 January 2018, accessed 3 July 2020, <https://www.cernuschi.paris.fr/en/collections/stages-journey>. Michel Maucuer, 'Une vision du Japon : les collections japonaises d'Henri Cernuschi', *Ebisu - Études Japonaises* 19, no. 1 (1998), 95. In 1875, an important part of his Japanese ceramic collection was added by certain Meazza, a silkworm egg merchant.

²⁷⁵ Duchâteau, *Une création scientifique française, le premier Congrès international des orientalistes*, Paris 1873, 23.

²⁷⁶ Albert Jacquemart, 'L'Extrême-Orient au Palais de l'Industrie. Notices sur les collections de M. H. Cernuschi: La céramique. Bois et ivoires', *La Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, January 1874, 52–71.

²⁷⁷ Jacquemart, 53.

accustomed.²⁷⁸ The Japanese ceramics on display received a low evaluation in terms of either aesthetic or educational values.²⁷⁹ Jacquemart comments, 'l'histoire céramique du Japon vient de naître (the history of Japanese ceramics was just born)', but he cautions the readers about the total confusion resulting from only basic information about the objects and the lack of serious study in the section where he was explaining the difficulty of identifying celadon.²⁸⁰ Despite the conservative view of Japanese domestic ware, Jacquemart's criticism indicates that private collections of Japanese ceramics collected in the early 1870s created the demand for scholarship on Japanese regional ceramics.

There are similarities in the process of making values between Cernuschi's Japanese ceramic collection and that of Franks. Michel Maucuer attributes to Cernuschi's ceramic collection ethnographic values and the role of testimony from the collector's journey to Japan.²⁸¹ Although Franks never travelled in Japan, the ethnological interest is shared by the two ceramic collections which investigated lesser-known types of ceramics in the 1870s. The Exhibition of the Far East at ICO transformed the newly formed private collection into a public display with an academic significance despite the lack of accurate information for some objects. This process of making this exhibition is similar to Franks's exhibition of East Asian ceramics from 1875 at BGM.

The interpretation of Japanese objects in the 1870s involved Japanese supporters. The Exhibition of the Far East was one of the places of such interaction. Imamura, who presented a paper on inscriptions in Hase-dera temple at the congress, was one of the scholars who

²⁷⁸ Jacquemart, 53.

²⁷⁹ Jacquemart, 53.

²⁸⁰ Jacquemart, 65.

²⁸¹ Maucuer, 'Une vision du Japon' 96.

explained ‘stories’ and inscriptions of main monuments at the exhibition.²⁸² This type of collaboration between Japanese scholars and European collectors for describing Japanese objects is later seen in Franks’s research on his Japanese collection and the SKM’s collecting of Japanese ceramics from the Philadelphia Exhibition in 1876.

The ICO in 1873 held the Exhibition of the Far East as a scholarly spectacle to provoke new study of objects which were brought to Europe in recent years. The SKM’s acquisition of a series of Japanese ceramics in 1877 from the Philadelphia International Exhibition of 1876 can be seen as a response to the scholarly interest in objects from the Far East. The museum purchased 216 Japanese ceramics for £1,000, which was pre-arranged in 1875 by Philip Cunliffe-Owen (1828–1894), the Director of the SKM.²⁸³ Sano Tsunetami 佐野常民 (1828–1902), the second Minister of Commerce was responsible for the creation of the Japanese ceramic collection exhibited in Philadelphia to demonstrate the complete history of Japanese ceramics while satisfying ‘British taste’, having Fritz Cunliffe-Owen, a relative of the SKM’s director as an advisor.²⁸⁴ The selection of the collection weighed works from the end of the sixteenth century with a great portion of those in the nineteenth century, including decorative contemporary products.²⁸⁵ Anna Jackson evaluates this Japanese selection as ‘eclectic’ rather than historical.²⁸⁶

²⁸² Congrès international des orientalistes, Congrès international des orientalistes, vol. 1, 350. Warau Imamura, ‘L’inscription du temple de Ha-se’, in Congrès international des orientalistes: compte-rendu de la première session, Paris, 1873. Tome 1, vol. 1 (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1874), 111–12.

²⁸³ Jackson, ‘Imagining Japan’, 245.

²⁸⁴ Jackson, 252. The Japanese Commission, *Official Catalogue of the Japanese Section, and Descriptive Notes on the Industry and Agriculture of Japan*. (Philadelphia: the Japanese Commission, 1876), 6. Fritz Cunliffe-Owen is listed as a member of honorary commissioners.

²⁸⁵ Jackson, 252.

²⁸⁶ Jackson, 252.

However, for the Japanese of the time, the history of ceramics was based on the development of the ceramic industry that flourished after the seventeenth century. The Japanese Commission's official catalogue of the Exhibition marked 1600 as the starting point of the history of Japanese manufactures:

Although in most cases, the origin of the Japanese industries can be traced back to China or Corea, they have been so much modified in every respect, that almost all traces of this origin have disappeared, and that the creations of Japanese artisans show in the highest degree a particular character of their own. Several centuries of peace (since 1600) have powerfully contributed to the development of the various industries, especially such as are connected with art, and which were greatly encouraged by all those who had the power—of doing so.²⁸⁷

This explanation emphasises two points. Firstly, the characteristics of Japanese industry were strengthened in the Edo period thanks to the Tokugawa regime. Secondly, the development of the industry owed to the effort of each lord who governed their domain. This structure may reflect the fact that the Meiji government led the initiative for the International Exhibitions to promote Japanese industries and producers and tried to develop their products regionally. Also, it was from the nineteenth century when regional ceramic industries flourished across Japan. This was, in fact, the foundation for the modern Japanese exhibitors of ceramics to stand on. Thus, it is not surprising that the Japanese illustrated the history of Japanese ceramics with regional variety mainly of the nineteenth century rather than show the chronological progress of 'Japanese' ceramics. Franks's *Japanese Pottery* (1880) was written for the SKM's new acquisition.²⁸⁸ He situated the whipped tea gathering as the aesthetic foundation for Japanese domestic ceramics. However, as Lawrence Smith points out, throughout this book, Franks showed scepticism about the mixed description of mythology,

²⁸⁷ The Japanese Commission, *Official Catalogue of the Japanese Section*, 52.

²⁸⁸ Franks, *Japanese Pottery*.

legend and statistics about Japanese ceramic production provided by the Japanese Commission.²⁸⁹ Situating objects in history was still a difficult task.

Competition Between France and Britain

The international competition in the study and collecting of Japanese objects, in particular between France and Britain, encouraged the development of the collections in both countries. Although the first ICO and *Exposition de l'extreme Orient* in Paris preceded the serious study and collecting of Japanese objects in Britain, the French regarded the British as their main competitor in this field. In a review article on *Exposition de l'extreme Orient* on 4 October 1873, G. Vinsaux, a lawyer based in Saigon, compares the French and British attitudes in Oriental Studies: the French academia led studies of Japan and China with an understanding of their aesthetics while the British practically acquired objects through British residents and tourists to those countries since SKM's foundation two years ago:

Depuis dix ans le musée de South Kensington a fait faire par ses officiers de marin, les plus importantes acquisitions en objet d'art ou d'industrie de tout soit, depuis les bijoux du peuple jusqu'aux vêtements des princes, depuis les minerais jusqu'aux innombrables variétés de ce papier précieux d'écorée d'art.²⁹⁰

Like Franks's institutional collecting for the British Museum, SKM utilised the worldwide British network for collecting industrial arts, which competed with the top-down process of French collecting.

In this situation, Philippe Burty criticised French academia in Japanese studies, comparing it to expanding British scholarship as well as their collections of Japanese

²⁸⁹ Smith, 'The Art and Antiquities of Japan', 266.

²⁹⁰ G. Vinsaux, 'L'Exposition orientale II', *La République française*, 4 October 1873, Archives Burty, Musée national des arts Asiatiques – Guimet.

art.²⁹¹ He introduced recent British articles and literature on Japan such as *The Far East*, an English journal published in Yokohama for 6 years, and accused French journalism of lacking the unity to counter the British counterparts who successfully gained mass readership on Japanese themes:

Mais, notre presse française, empêtrée dans tout de liens, ne peut donner que des efforts sans unité. C'est à la presse anglaise, libre d'allures pleine d'expérience, riche et sûre de sons existence, experte à sonder toutes les courbes, qui constituent l'énorme masse d'un public d'ailleurs essentiellement liseur de revers, c'est à la presse anglais qu'il était.²⁹²

Besides mass media, Burty praised Audsley and Bowes's *Keramic Art of Japan* published in Britain for the beauty of the lithography. In 1877, Burty loaned his eight Japanese fans to the Exhibition of Fans held at the Liverpool Art Club, to which Audsley and Bowes belonged.²⁹³ The club was founded in 1872, inspired by the BFAC in London.²⁹⁴ The personal connection between Burty and English collectors signals his keen interest in British collecting. In another article reviewing recent literature on Japanese topics by British and American authors, he concludes with the expectation of French recovery of the leadership in Japanese studies at the coming International Exhibition in Paris, 1878.²⁹⁵

²⁹¹ Philippe Burty, 'Revue des sciences historiques: le japonisme', *La République française*, 30 juin 1876, 1–2.

²⁹² Burty, 1–2.

²⁹³ Liverpool Art Club, advertisement of the Exhibition of Fans, (Liverpool: Liverpool Art Club, 10th August, 1877), a list of exhibits including Burty's collections (nos. 85–92) for the Exhibition of Fans, ([Liverpool: Liverpool Art Club], October 1877), Archives Burty, Musée national des arts Asiatiques – Guimet. Bowes was an Honorary Secretary of the Club.

²⁹⁴ T. C. Archer, 'Oriental Art in Liverpool', *Art Journal* 11(December 1872), 14.

²⁹⁵ Philippe Burty, 'Revue des sciences historique: le Japon et la Société des études japonaises', *La République française*, 22 January 1875, 1–2. While the trendy Bowes and Audsley's work was Burty's central interest, a Florence-resided American critic James Jackson Jarves' *A Glimpse at the art of Japan* (New York, 1876) entered his discussion.

Marketing the Past

The scholarly interest in Japanese domestic ware grew in the international scholarly spaces of discussion and exhibitions in the early 1870s when comparative Oriental Studies developed along with prehistoric archaeology and ethnography. However, the infrastructure of this development had been laid out before it became obvious. The Paris International Exhibition in 1867 included prehistoric and Medieval antiquities in its display as a reaction to the growing interest in the less known past among scholarly communities as well as in the public. This tradition continues in the following exhibitions at Vienna in 1873 and Paris in 1878.²⁹⁶ Franks witnessed and was involved in the two Paris International Exhibitions in 1867 and 1878. For the first exhibition, he purchased Japanese applied arts for SKM as an appointed commissioner and organised a display for British Museum.²⁹⁷ For the latter, Franks served as a Juror for the Pottery section.²⁹⁸ Bonnie Effros argues that the first and second Paris International Exhibitions commercialised prehistoric and medieval works of Europe.²⁹⁹ The commercialisation had a controversial effect of increasing market values for the objects from private lenders without clear archaeological contexts but encouraged the acquisition of prehistoric and Medieval age collections by the national museums.³⁰⁰ Similarly, the Japanese ceramics exhibited at the Trocadero Palace in the 1878 Paris International Exhibition, despite the lack of scholarly impact, created another wave of interest in Japanese material culture that increased commercial values.

²⁹⁶ Bonnie Effros, 'Selling Archaeology and Anthropology: Early Medieval Artefacts at the Expositions Universelles and the Wiener Weltausstellung, 1867–1900', *Early Medieval Europe* 16, no. 1 (February 2008), 30.

²⁹⁷ Caygill, 'Franks and the British Museum', 83. Smith, 'The Art and Antiquities of Japan', 264. Franks, 'The Apology of My Life', 323.

²⁹⁸ Caygill, 'Franks and the British Museum', 88.

²⁹⁹ Effros, 'Selling Archaeology and Anthropology'.

³⁰⁰ Effros, 28–30.

As in the first Paris Exhibition, the scholarly communities in Paris were involved in the making of *Exposition historique de l'art ancien* (*Historical Exhibition of Old Art*) at the Trocadero Palace in 1878. This exhibition was meant to illustrate ‘a retrospective of art and history’ from prehistory to the contemporary.³⁰¹ Directed by Adrien de Longpérier (1816–1882), the curator of the Louvre who was involved in *Exposition de l'extreme Orient* in 1873, the left side of the Palace was composed chronologically of ten sections for French and European works from the Stone Age.³⁰² The right side of the Palace was dedicated to ‘ethnographie des peuples étrangers’ geographically organized under the management of Alphonse Pinart (1852–1911), an ethnologist.³⁰³ There were inconsistencies in the organization of the two wings not only by the two different disciplines but also by the private nature of the exhibits. A critic questioned the way of organizing objects in the binary view of Art History versus Ethnography which confuses visitors who wanted to see the same material from different regions—Spanish, Chinese and Belgian works are to be found in Ethnography in the right wing while French, Italian, and German objects are found in Art History represented in the left wing.³⁰⁴

In the margin of art and ethnography, Japanese antique ceramics were exhibited in a square salon in the right wing of the Trocadero Palace.³⁰⁵ Ernest Chesneau (1833–1890) and Paul Gasnault (1828–1898), reported in the *Gazette des beaux arts* the deficiency of the Japanese

³⁰¹ Effros, 36. Edmond Bonnaffé, ‘Au Trocadéro’, in Louis Gonse ed, *L'art ancien à l'Exposition de 1878* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1879), 14.

³⁰² Michael Falser, *Angkor Wat – A Transcultural History of Heritage*, vol. 1 From Plaster Casts to Exhibition Pavilions. (Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG, 2020), 118.

³⁰³ Falser, 118.

³⁰⁴ Bonnaffé, 15. ‘Suivant les autres, l’aile droite s'appellerait Histoire de l’art, et l’aile gauche Ethnographie, d’où la conclusion que les armes, la céramique, les bronzes et le reste sont ethnographiques quand ils viennent d’Espagne, de Chine et de Belgique, historiques quand ils viennent de France, d’Italie et d’Allemagne’.

³⁰⁵ Paul Gasnault, ‘La Céramique de l’Extrême Orient’, *Gazette des beaux-arts: courrier européen de l’art et de la curiosité*, juillet 1878, 898–9.

exhibition at Trocadero. Japan was unable to fulfil both critics' desire to view 'official retrospective art' of Japan with the exception of Wakai Kanezaburō 若井兼三郎 (1834–1908)'s 'authentic information' for the exhibits.³⁰⁶ Wakai, a Japanese dealer who participated in the Vienna and Philadelphia Exhibitions, was the main exhibitor of Japanese antiques.³⁰⁷ Gasnault complained about the absence of educational merits, first-rated pieces, and the disdain for 'ancient civilization' in the Japanese exhibition at Trocadero.³⁰⁸ In the official catalogue for the Philadelphia Exhibition, the Japanese Commission explained that the Japanese workshops were like Medieval workshops in Europe, thereby assimilating the Japanese industry into Western Medievalism.³⁰⁹ However, once the Medieval Age became a subject of serious study, the Japanese side was expected to provide evidence of its history.

Gasnault was puzzled by many examples of 'more or less primitive and coarse pottery', which Wakai explained as 'l'industrie Coréenne'.³¹⁰ It was the first time for French critics to link Korea and Japan in the production of Japanese stoneware as opposed to the familiar connection between China and Japan for porcelain production.³¹¹ Indeed, the discussion about Korean potters had just begun earlier in the year with Ernest Satow's paper on Korean

³⁰⁶ Ernest Chesneau, 'Le Japon a Paris', *Gazette des beaux-arts: courrier européen de l'art et de la curiosité*, July 1878, 842. 'C'est une faute, car le grand et légitime succès qui était réservé à l'exposition moderne organisée par les soins de MM. Matsugata et Maëda se fût accru de beaucoup si la part faite aux envois *officiels* de l'art rétrospectif eût été plus importante. Ceux-là seulement, en effet, avec les envois de M. Wakai, offrent au travailleur l'intérêt de renseignements authentiques'.

³⁰⁷ Laurent Deroy, *Les merveilles de l'Exposition de 1878: histoire, construction, inauguration, description détaillée des palais, des annexes et des parcs ... ouvrage rédigé par des écrivains spéciaux et des ingénieurs; illustré* (Paris: Librairie Illustrée; Librairie M. Deyfous, 1879), 238.

³⁰⁸ Gasnault, 'La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient', 908–9.

³⁰⁹ The Japanese Commission, *Official Catalogue of the Japanese Section*, 51.

³¹⁰ Gasnault, 'La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient', 902.

³¹¹ Gasnault, 902–3.

pottery in Satsuma ware production.³¹² In the ‘labyrinth’ of Japanese objects piled up in the exhibition, he failed to appreciate the exhibits due to the lack of historical, material, and aesthetic contexts.³¹³ His disappointment was not only due to his conservative view of Japanese ceramics, but the unavailable evidence to support Wakai’s claims and the lack of narrative to position objects.³¹⁴ A similar critique was given of the other fields of Japanese art. In his review of the Paris Exhibition, Émile Bergerat (1845–1923) comments that Japan had no historiography nor an art historian on Japanese paintings:

encore n’ont-ils pas eu d’historiographe et leur manque-t-il un Vasari. J’imagine que l’éditeur Ludovic Baschet aurait quelque peine à réunir, au Japon, les éléments d’une Galerie contemporaine. La biographie ne serait-elle qu’un produit de la vanité occidentale?³¹⁵

Philippe Burty, who also exhibited Japanese ceramics at Trocadero, however, reflects positively that Wakai showed ‘a whole series of cups and vases’ passed down within Japanese families.³¹⁶ As Imai Yūko has argued, the exhibition was the key event for the French collectors to appreciate Japanese whipped tea utensils that became fashionable in the 1880s.³¹⁷ In his review article of the Paris Exhibition of 1878, Burty cites Franks’s *Catalogue of Oriental Pottery and Porcelain* (1876) as an essential reference for Japanese ceramics along with Audsley and Bowes’s *Keramic Art of Japan* (1875).³¹⁸ However, he emphasizes the contribution of the Japanese Commission’s 40-page long report on the Japanese ceramic industry.³¹⁹ While this report was criticized by Gasnault for the lack of explanation of

³¹² Ernest Satow, ‘The Korean Potters in Satsuma’, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 6, no. 2 (1878): 193–202.

³¹³ Gasnault, 908.

³¹⁴ Gasnault, 904.

³¹⁵ Emile Bergerat, *Les chefs-d’oeuvre d’art à l’Exposition universelle 1878*, vol. 1 (Paris: L. Baschet, 1878), 129.

³¹⁶ Philippe Burty, ‘Exposition Universelle de 1878: Le Japon ancien et le Japon moderne’, *L’Art: revue hebdomadaire illustrée* 15 (1878), 246.

³¹⁷ Imai Yuko, ‘Changes in French Tastes for Japanese Ceramics’, *Japan Review*, no. 16 (2004), 120.

³¹⁸ Burty, ‘Exposition Universelle de 1878’, 245.

³¹⁹ Burty, 245.

historical Japanese ceramics, information provided by the Japanese was increasingly significant alongside publications by the British authors.

The Japanese exhibition at Trocadero opened a new chapter for Japanese ceramics, which departed from the comparative study of ceramics and entered the market of Japanese things. Burty's unpublished notebook of Japanese ceramics preserved in the Guimet Museum records what kinds of Japanese ceramics were shown at Trocadero.³²⁰ 15 entries of 'collection du Trocadero 1878' can be found in the catalogue including three Satsuma wares, three Kenzan, two Seto, two Raku wares, a Bizen, an Oribe, and a Shino ware (Fig. 10).

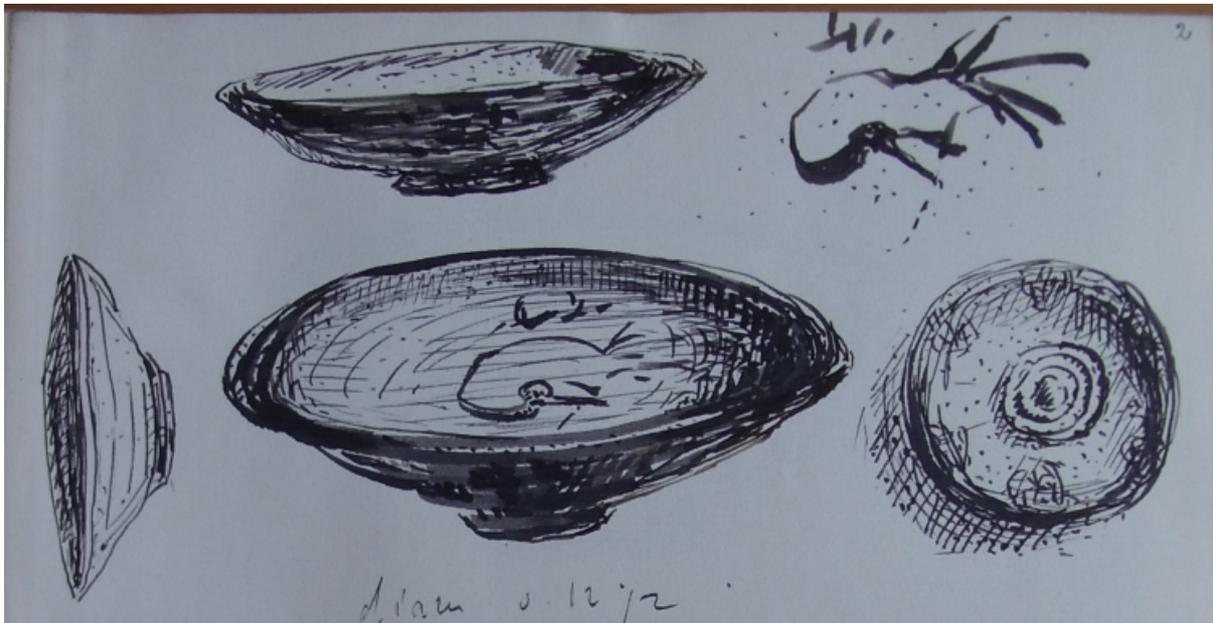


Fig. 10 Philippe Burty, Sketch of a Shino dish, *Ph. Burty VII* (detail), late nineteenth century, Musée national des arts Asiatiques – Guimet.

They are not necessarily the works that he bought but perhaps just observed. For 11 works, he identified the shops that dealt with the objects. Leading department stores Petit St Thomas and Au Printemps sold five works respectively. Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha, Wakai's company patronised by the Japanese government, sold a Raku tea jar (Fig. 11).

³²⁰ Philippe Burty, *Ph. Burty VII: Céramique, Peignes, Tissus, Objects Divers*, 2, late nineteenth century, Archives Burty, Musée national des arts Asiatiques – Guimet, Paris.



Fig. 11 Philippe Burty, Sketch of a Raku tea jar, Ph. Burty VII (detail), late nineteenth century, Musée national des arts Asiatiques – Guimet.

Burty's catalogue shows only a part of the ceramic collection exhibited in the International Exhibition in 1878. However, it demonstrates how antique earthenware and stoneware came into the art market in Paris from the exhibition, which was mediated by the popular department stores in the 1870s before specialised dealers in Japanese arts such as Hayashi Tadamasu 林忠正 (1853–1906), and Bing became the main suppliers of Japanese things from the 1880s onwards.

2.3 Antiquarianism

Ceramics performed in Franks collection as comparative material and ethnographic objects as different facets of antiquarian pursuits. The shifting position of Japanese ceramics between the two realms was embedded in the antiquarian tradition of collecting and examining ceramics. The change was not a sudden imposition of a different perspective on the objects.

Rather, the history of viewing ceramics in the antiquarian tradition prepared the ground for the two ways of seeing. This section discusses how antiquarianism mattered in Franks's framework of Japanese ceramics by looking at his activities as an antiquary and comparing them with those of a German antiquarian Gustav Klemm (1802–1867).

Franks's understanding of Japanese domestic ceramics developed from antiquarianism.

Antiquarianism is a form of empirical study of the past. Arnaldo Momigliano situates Antiquarianism in the eighteenth century on the line of 'a new humanism' for antiquaries that revolutionised the 'historical method' by exploring primary sources including 'non-literary evidence'.³²¹ In Britain, the antiquarian tradition developed from topographical surveys and the study of genealogy and heraldry, which was further transformed with European antiquarianism and Baconian empiricism in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, respectively.³²² In the nineteenth century, antiquarian research flourished at various learned societies.³²³ The term archaeologist has been often used interchangeably with antiquary in England though archaeology developed as an academic discipline and was being institutionalised through the establishment of the British Archaeological Association in 1843 and the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain in 1844.³²⁴ Franks has been named as an important archaeologist of the Victorian time though he is classified as an amateur in contrast

³²¹ Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13, no. 3/4 (1950): 286–9.

³²² David Hay, ed., 'The Antiquarian Tradition', in *The Oxford Companion to Local and Family History*, Oxford Reference (Oxford University Press, 2009), accessed 25 May 2020, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199532988.001.0001/acref-9780199532988-e-2003>.

³²³ Hay, 'The Antiquarian Tradition'.

³²⁴ Miller, *History and Its Objects*, 98. British Archaeological Association, 'British Archaeological Association', accessed 24 May 2020, <https://thebaa.org/>. Royal Archaeological Institute, 'Welcome to the Royal Archaeological Institute', Royal Archaeological Institute, accessed 24 May 2020, <https://www.royalarchinst.org/>.

to his colleagues who conducted fieldwork.³²⁵ In 1848, he attended the 5th annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute and was elected a member.³²⁶ It was before the first Chair of Archaeology was established at the University of Cambridge in 1852.³²⁷

While Franks was active at newly founded archaeological societies, he was a central figure in traditional antiquarian circles. In 1853, he was elected a fellow of the SoA and became the Director at the age of 31 years old.³²⁸ Susan Pearce observes that through investigating documentary and material evidence, the fellows sought ‘multiple pasts that opposes grand narrative’.³²⁹ SoA had mainly considered subjects in medieval history and architecture, but objects from non-European countries and prehistory were also discussed. Ceramics was one of the areas that members had great interest in. For example, at the meeting on the sixteenth February 1860, Franks exhibited and discussed Middle Eastern earthenware with fellow antiquaries John Henderson (1797–1878), Octavius Morgan (1803–1888) and Fortnum.³³⁰

³²⁵ Mark Bowden, *Pitt Rivers: The Life and Archaeological Work of Lieutenant-General Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt Rivers, DCL, FRS, FSA* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 3.

³²⁶ Caygill, ‘Frank sand the British Museum’, 56.

³²⁷ Miller, *History and Its Objects*, 98.

³²⁸ Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries*, 264, 293. Timothy Darvill, ‘Society of Antiquaries of London’, in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Archaeology* (Oxford University Press, 2009), accessed 25 May 2020, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199534043.001.0001/acref-9780199534043-e-3918>. Society of Antiquaries of London, ‘Society of Antiquaries of London’, accessed 1 June 2020, <https://www.sal.org.uk/>. As early as in 1585, the Society of Antiquaries was established, but James I (1566–1625) abolished it for its potential political threat. The Society was revived in 1707 for ‘the encouragement, advancement, and furtherance of the study and knowledge of antiquities and history of Britain and other countries’, which became the second oldest Royal Society in Britain with the Royal Charter in 1751.

³²⁹ Susan Pearce, ‘Visions of Antiquity: Introduction’, in *Visions of Antiquity: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1707-2007*, ed. Susan Pearce and Society of Antiquaries of London, *Archaeologia*, v. 111 (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007), 1.

³³⁰ Society of Antiquaries of London, ‘Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London’, 2nd, 1 (1861), 94.

This antiquarian method of understanding and exhibiting lesser-known objects was applied to his research on Japanese ceramics afterwards.

Antiquarianism enabled Franks to apply these research methods to objects from Japan. Momigliano claims that antiquarians emphasised non-literary evidence from the past by being critical of historical narratives as Pearce also noted in the quote above.³³¹ This material-centred approach strengthened the ability to create knowledge of new objects whether or not they were familiar with the written histories that existed before. The classification of objects from the past was the primary method for antiquaries to analyse materials in front of them against chronology for historians.³³² By comparing objects in given classifications, antiquarians in the nineteenth century discussed the past, the local, and the other cultures at learned societies. Free from grand discourses and disciplinary boundaries, which were being formed, scholars passionate about objects created new values for lesser-known objects in question.

Antiquarian communities were the soil to grow the seeds that developed into different disciplines, which were being institutionalised. On the seventeenth of March 1870, Franks proposed the reduction of the number of meetings at SoA to enable busy members to attend newly founded societies sharing similar objectives with the society, which he named ‘the Archaeological Institute, and Association, the Asiatic, Syro-Egyptian, and Numismatic Societies, Royal Society of Literature, and the Ethnological Society’ as well as local archaeological societies in Britain.³³³ This proposal shows the decentralized map of

³³¹ Momigliano, ‘Ancient History and the Antiquarian’, 299.

³³² Momigliano, 311.

³³³ Franks, Letter, drafted on 8 March and proposed on 17 March 1870, in Society of Antiquaries of London, ‘Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London’, 2nd, 4 (1870), 453-4.

antiquarians in the second half of the nineteenth century in Britain. Class distribution in SoA membership was also an issue. The SoA was composed of gentlemen of high class whereas the newly founded Association of British Archaeology accommodated members from wider classes.³³⁴ Richard Hingley points out that the SoA did not effectively respond to democratised interest in archaeology as the latter did.³³⁵ Still, Franks remained in the SoA and belonged to new learned societies at the same time.

Antiquarian Display

Franks's scientific inquiry into understanding the past used displays as means. The earliest major antiquarian exhibition to which he contributed was the Exhibition of Ancient and Mediaeval Art held at the Royal Society of Arts in 1850. Appointed as the Honourable Secretary for the Committee, Franks prefaced the exhibition catalogue and engaged in the organising and classifying of private collections of antiquities including his own.³³⁶ His words in this catalogue suggest what antiquarianism meant to him and the Victorian audience.

Founded in 1754 by William Shipley (1715–1803), the Royal Society of Arts has promoted 'Arts, Manufactures and Commerce' by stimulating innovations.³³⁷ Prince Albert (1819–

³³⁴ Richard Hingley, 'The Society, Its Council, the Membership and Publications, 1820–50', in *Visions of Antiquity: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1707-2007*, ed. Susan Pearce and Society of Antiquaries of London, *Archaeologia*, v. 111 (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007), 173.

³³⁵ Hingley, 173.

³³⁶ Augustus W. Franks and Royal Society of Arts, *Catalogue of Works of Ancient and Medieval Art: Exhibited at the House of the Society of Arts, London 1850*. (London: the Society, 1850), 15–6. Franks exhibited 'A brooch and two earrings of silver, set with rubies and diamonds' of the early eighteenth century for the section of 'Goldsmith's enamelled work'.

³³⁷ J. A. Cannon, 'Royal Society of Arts', in *The Oxford Companion to British History* (Oxford University Press, 2015), accessed 23 May 2020, <http://0.www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199677832.001.0001/acref-9780199677832-e-3714>., Royal Society of Arts, 'Archive and History - RSA', Royal Society of Arts, accessed 23 May 2020, <https://www.thersa.org/about-us/archive-and-history>.

1861) presided from 1843 to 1861 and encouraged the most efficient ‘application of the Fine Arts’ to manufacture.³³⁸ The Society’s House hosted exhibitions of British Manufactures and Decorative Art annually from 1847, which led to the Great Exhibition in 1850 at Crystal Palace in London.³³⁹ A year before the Great Exhibition, which displayed ‘modern art and industry’, the Royal Society of Arts with the patronage of Prince Albert, hosted this exhibition of ‘a collection of rare and unrivalled objects, a great gathering of the gems of Ancient and Mediaeval Art’ as ‘a preparatory exhibition’.³⁴⁰ According to Franks, this exhibition was intended to be viewed by three types of audiences for different goals:

To the Artist and Manufacturer, an opportunity is afforded of comparing the handiwork of ancient times with the productions of our own skill and ingenuity; to the Amateur, means are supplied of correcting the taste and refining the judgement; to the Archaeologist, materials are presented for observation and study; the very facts and *data* upon which his science is founded are spread out before him.³⁴¹

The benefits of public displays in Victorian culture are often argued from the perspective of education for manufacturers and public taste. However, this exhibition explicitly names archaeologists as important viewers of the arts.

The SoA was one of the exhibitors at the Ancient and Medieval exhibition of 1850.³⁴² The collaboration of the two Societies elaborates the role of multidimensional antiquarianism in mid nineteenth century Britain as the source of inspiration for the manufacturers, an enlightening tool for the public, and the scientific inquiry for scholars. With Franks’s close

³³⁸ John de La Valette, ‘The Royal Society of Arts and Industrial Art’, *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 85, no. 4430 (1937), 1035.

³³⁹ La Valette, 1035.

³⁴⁰ Franks, *Catalogue of Works of Ancient and Medieval Art*, 5.

³⁴¹ Franks, 5. The italic follows the original.

³⁴² Franks, *Catalogue of Works of Ancient and Medieval Art*.

involvement in this project, it is reasonable to assume that the three goals of the exhibition could be synonymous with his own agenda as an antiquarian.

The scientific role of display was particularly important for Franks's understanding of objects. At a meeting of SoA in 1870, Franks exhibited his stone implements collection formed on his trip to Copenhagen, acknowledging that the Museum of Northern Antiquities greatly inspired him to understand the 'scientific' values of these objects.³⁴³ By the acquisition of objects and information, the collection of knowledge was accumulated through a systematic classification based on a natural history typology. The term 'systematics' itself came from biology, botany, and geology.³⁴⁴ The methodology of natural science was applied to artificial objects and even used for peoples to analyse.³⁴⁵

Franks and Klemm

Franks's antiquarianism closely connected to an international current of comparative study. An interesting similarity in ceramic study can be found between Franks and a German antiquarian Gustav Klemm (1802–1867). As Peter N. Miller notes, Klemm was one of the last antiquarians in Germany and the first scholar of 'cultural science'.³⁴⁶ Klemm published 10 volumes of *Allgemeine Cultur-Geschichte der Menschheit (General Culture-History of Mankind)* (1843–52), which had an impact on archaeology and ethnology in England as well

³⁴³ Society of Antiquaries of London, Jan 21, 1869, 'Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London', 1870, 216–7.

³⁴⁴ Susan M. Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections: A Cultural Study* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 84.

³⁴⁵ Pearce, 84–5.

³⁴⁶ Peter N. Miller, 'The Missing Link: "Antiquarianism," "Material Culture," and "Cultural Science" in the Work of G. F. Klemm', in *Cultural Histories of the Material World*, ed. Peter N. Miller (Ann Arbor, USA: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 263.

as in the United States.³⁴⁷ Culture-History is characterised by its focus on specific ways of life as opposed to histories of politics and great individuals.³⁴⁸ Victorian archaeologists and anthropologists referred to his work—notably in Edward Tylor’s (1832–1917) *Researches Into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization* (1865), and the works of Pitt-Rivers.³⁴⁹ William Ryan Chapman claims that Klemm’s organisational scheme published in *Werkzeuge und Waffen* (1858) was widely shared among antiquarians.³⁵⁰

Both Franks and Klemm lived similar social and professional lives as an antiquary, collector, curator, and scholar in the mid-nineteenth century. Starting with being an antiquary passionate about the lesser-known period of their own country, they expanded research interest into prehistory and ethnography. As Franks was a Medievalist, Klemm’s antiquarian interest developed from artefacts of the Germanic periods, or Middle Ages.³⁵¹ In Klemm’s antiquarian inquiry, artefacts functioned as ‘evidence for culture-history’.³⁵² He criticised ‘kunst-dilettante’ who only appreciated what they liked from a standpoint of scientific

³⁴⁷ For Klemm’s impact in the U.S., see: Kathleen Curran, ‘Displaying Cultural History: The Smithsonian Institution and the World’s Fairs’, in *Meet Me at the Fair: A World’s Fair Reader* (Pittsburgh, PA, USA: ETC Press, 2014), 31–3. Miller, *History and Its Objects*, 170–1.

³⁴⁸ Manfred K. H. Eggert, ‘Culture Historical Theory’, in *The Oxford Companion to Archaeology* (Oxford University Press, 2012), accessed 3 June 2020 <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199735785.001.0001/acref-9780199735785-e-0107>.

³⁴⁹ A. Lane Fox, ‘Note on the Use of the New-Zealand Mere’, *The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London (1869–1870)* 2, no. 2 (1870): 109. William Ryan Chapman, ‘Arranging Ethnology: A.H.L.F. Pitt Rivers and the Typological Tradition’, in *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, ed. George W. Stocking Jr. (Madison, USA: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 25. For German ethnography’s impact on Britain in the nineteenth century see, Han F. Vermeulen, *Before Boas: The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment*, Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 424–9.

³⁵⁰ Chapman, ‘Arranging Ethnology’, 25.

³⁵¹ Gustav Friedrich Klemm, *Handbuch der germanischen Alterthumskunde* (Dresden: Walther, 1836), xi.

³⁵² Miller, ‘The Missing Link’, 264.

research in the human past.³⁵³ Similarly, Franks also saw objects as ‘data’ for archaeologists and valued ‘documental’ objects to tell a history.

For both of them, collecting and exhibiting were directly connected to scientific research on the past. The objects organised in an encyclopaedic manner illustrated the cultures that otherwise could not be seen due to the distance in time and space—either from their own countries or the Far East. Klemm’s *Handbuch der germanischen Alterthumskunde (Handbook of German Antiquities)* (1836) describes the cultural history of Germanic periods by investigating wide-ranging topics including geography, geology, products, morals, psychological and physical characteristics of people, ways of life, tools, and clothing.³⁵⁴ All of these areas of Germanic study are to be applied to other cultures discussed in his 10 volumes of *Allgemeine Cultur-Geschichte der Menschheit* published from 1841.

Klemm’s collection and his vision of an encyclopaedic museum altogether must have shaped some aspects of Franks’s collecting and understanding of objects. Objects researched by Klemm formed a part of the British Museum collection. Klemm was the curator for the Royal Porcelain Collection in Dresden since the 1830s. Franks acquired 26 East Asian ceramics formerly from the Dresden collection for his private collection at that time.³⁵⁵ These were part of the 4895 duplicates which Klemm sold to the market while he was in charge of the Royal collection.³⁵⁶ In 1867, Klemm died and his collection was sold in the next year. His ‘ethnographic’ collection became the foundation for the National Museum of Ethnology in

³⁵³ Miller, ‘The Missing Link’, 268.

³⁵⁴ Klemm, *Handbuch der germanischen Alterthumskunde*.

³⁵⁵ Harrison-Hall, ‘Oriental Pottery and Porcelain’, 225.

³⁵⁶ Friedrich Reichel, *Early Japanese Porcelain – Arita porcelain in the Dresden Collection* (London: 1980), cited in Harrison-Hall, ‘Oriental Pottery and Porcelain’, 225.

Leipzig.³⁵⁷ Visiting Dresden, Franks secured around 1000 objects of Klemm's collection of Anglo-Saxon artefacts along with his archives.³⁵⁸ It is important to remember that this acquisition in 1868 was together with the Henry Christy collection of prehistory and ethnography. This demonstrates the impact of German antiquarianism on Franks, which enhanced the direction of the comparative study of antiquity, prehistory, and ethnography in the museum. This was exactly what Klemm aimed for in his vision of a museum of Culture-History.³⁵⁹ While Klemm assembled prehistoric, medieval, ethnographic, European and non-European objects for his private collection and theorised them as Cultural Science, Franks facilitated various acquisitions to the British Museum and was more focused on presenting, describing and comparing objects of Cultural History as 'data' rather than theorising.³⁶⁰

East Asian Ceramics in the Study of Culture-History

In 1834, Klemm published a guidebook of the Royal collection of porcelain in Dresden.³⁶¹ Klemm wrote a history of ceramics, learning from cabinets of curiosities and libraries in Europe.³⁶² The noble cabinets which he studied contained either rarities of Europe and non-European origins, where East Asian ceramics were situated.³⁶³ Compared to Chinese porcelain, Japanese porcelain was 'not so baroque but natural', Klemm claimed.³⁶⁴ Although

³⁵⁷ Miller, 'The Missing Link', 271 and footnote 39 on 279.

³⁵⁸ Grazyna Orlinska and Dafydd Kidd, 'The Archaeological Collection of Holfrath Dr Gustav Klemm of Dresden', *Journal of the History of Collections* 5, no. 2 (1 January 1993): 251.

³⁵⁹ Gustav Friedrich Klemm, *Allgemeine Cultur-Geschichte der Menschheit: Nach den bessten Quellen bearbeitet und mit xylographischen Abbildungen der verschiedenen Nationalphysiognomien, Geräte, Waffen, Trachten, Kunstproducte u.s.w. versehen*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1843), 362.

³⁶⁰ Miller, *History and Its Objects*, 157.

³⁶¹ Gustav Friedrich Klemm, *Die königlich Sächsische Porzellan-Sammlung. Eine Uebersicht ihrer vorzüglichsten Schätze, nebst Nachweisung über die Geschichte der Gefässbildnerie in Thon und Porzellan* (Dresden: Verlag der Walther'schen Hofbuchhandlung, 1834).

³⁶² Miller, 'The Missing Link', 264–5.

³⁶³ Klemm, *Die königlich Sächsische Porzellan-Sammlung*, 26.

³⁶⁴ Klemm, 24.

they were less durable than Chinese products, he situated the Japanese products in the history of interior decoration in ‘magnificent rooms’.³⁶⁵ The study of old collections enabled the antiquarian to explore the developmental history of ceramics in the world through the comparison of different manufactures either in Europe and East Asia. The guidebook reveals the different functions of East Asian porcelain in the Dresden collection for his research. They illustrate the level of technology along with that of European counterparts. At the same time, East Asian ceramics were a part of the historical development of world porcelain, which starts with China and finishes in Europe (in a Eurocentric way). This narrative for porcelain is inherited in J. C. Robinson’s *Ceramic Art* in 1858, which was written in reaction to the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition in 1857.³⁶⁶

The guidebook of the Dresden collection indicates some directions for his future research, which includes a comparative scheme for products from the world, a focus on technological development, and an interest in forms. In the guidebook, Klemm illustrates the shapes of ceramics mostly from a portrait angle, but some examples include forms shown from above (Fig. 12). Klemm’s typological organisation of objects from the 1830s drew attention for the comparison with that of Pitt-Rivers.³⁶⁷ Pitt-Rivers’s prehistoric and ethnographic collection organised by form is often contrasted with Franks’s geographical arrangement of the Henry Christy collection of ethnography at the British Museum.³⁶⁸ However, Franks’s slips for Japanese ceramics, especially those for tea caddies, bear portrait sketches of each item (Fig. 13). Stoneware tea jars for Japanese whipped tea gatherings fit into the Victorian enthusiasm

³⁶⁵ Klemm, 24.

³⁶⁶ J. C. Robinson, *Ceramic Art* (London: [publisher not identified], 1858), 27–32.

³⁶⁷ Chapman, ‘Arranging Ethnology’, 25.

³⁶⁸ Chapman, 25. Alison Petch, ‘Two Nineteenth-Century Collectors-Curators Compared and Contrasted: General Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers (1827–1900) and Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826–1897)’, *Museum History Journal* 7, no. 2 (July 2014): 194.

By 1840, Klemm formed an extensive collection from around the world, including 600 Chinese and Japanese objects used to illustrate Culture-History or ‘the creation of various human artistic and manufactured products out of naturally found materials and their further development’.³⁶⁹ When Klemm formed his collection, museums in Paris, the Hague, Leyden, Dresden, Vienna, Berlin and Munich already had objects of the Classical, Egyptian, ‘Oriental’ and Middle Ages.³⁷⁰ However, there was no collection made to integrate those fields, which could become ‘a solid basis for the explanation of comparative antiquity, history and ethnography’.³⁷¹ He claims that creating a cultural museum would be easy if one could make a selection and fill a gap by acquiring objects from elsewhere.³⁷² Franks’s efforts to collect for the British Museum correspond to Klemm’s vision of Culture-History.

Klemm examined Chinese and Japanese ceramics for Culture-History of distant nations in the sixth volume of *Allgemeine Cultur-Geschichte der Menschheit* (1847). While he described ceramics as artistic products earlier in the Royal collection catalogue, depicted images of Chinese porcelain also functioned to suggest the life and people in China.³⁷³ Klemm tried to analyse ‘domestic and public life’ of the Japanese through Japanese porcelain as media, but scarce examples of such depictions available to him only let him describe the visual characteristics of Japanese porcelain.³⁷⁴ Ceramics from China and Japan were expected to play two roles as the manifestation of technology and representation of ways of life though his attempt for the latter looks unsuccessful.

³⁶⁹ Klemm, *Allgemeine Cultur-Geschichte der Menschheit*, viii–x. English translation quoted from Miller, ‘The Missing Link’, 266.

³⁷⁰ Klemm, *Allgemeine Cultur-Geschichte der Menschheit*, 362.

³⁷¹ Klemm, 362.

³⁷² Klemm, 361–2.

³⁷³ Gustav Friedrich Klemm, *Allgemeine Cultur-Geschichte der Menschheit*, vol. 6 (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1847), 2–3.

³⁷⁴ Klemm, *Allgemeine Cultur-Geschichte der Menschheit*, vol. 6, 527.

Klemm's use of ceramics for understanding native manners and customs appears to link to Franks's growing interest in Japanese ceramics for tea gatherings in the 1870s. Antiquarians, since the Renaissance period, observed vessels as the source of reconstructing the life of people from the bygone ages.³⁷⁵ In eighteenth-century Germany, ways of life received new attention as the cultural history of ordinary people in a reaction to the French Revolution, which led to an emphasis on the history of 'the People' not of rulers.³⁷⁶ At the same time, a concern for 'manners and customs' characterised the letters of eighteenth-century Britain.³⁷⁷ The interest was shared across different fields from law and history to travel literature.³⁷⁸ Mark Phillips argues that issues of manners are connected to morality, in which 'politeness' is one of the central concerns for Addisonian moralists.³⁷⁹ Furthermore, polished manners were considered a scientific indicator of the progress of a society.³⁸⁰ Behaviours of people in their own country or others, either contemporary or from the past were observed, recorded, compared and contrasted—like ceramics in a comparative framework.³⁸¹

Scientific and popular antiquarian interest in manners and customs continues to the nineteenth century, which further connected with art criticism and prepared the contexts for appreciating utensils for tea. Apart from the progressive view of human civilization, the manners of the old societies were evaluated positively in the mid-1870s. In *Art Journal*, Jackson James Jarves (1818–1888), an American critic and collector in Florence argues that

³⁷⁵ Miller, *History and Its Objects*, 63–5.

³⁷⁶ Miller, 124.

³⁷⁷ Mark Phillips, *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740–1820* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2000), 147.

³⁷⁸ Phillips, 147.

³⁷⁹ Phillips, 147.

³⁸⁰ Phillips, 148.

³⁸¹ Phillips, 148–50.

the wisdom and morality of a certain group of people are illustrated through fine manners, of which art is considered one of the expressions.³⁸² He romanticises the intelligence and politeness in aristocratic good manners as the basis of the individual and national culture.³⁸³ Discussion of Japanese art, which developed from the 1870s, often were accompanied by the topics of the Japanese ways of life as if an essential opening. Rutherford Alcock (1809–97) positions Japanese art as a device for illustrating the ‘national life and traditions’ in the beginning of his paper on Japanese art.³⁸⁴ Jarves too included habits of the Japanese and tea drinking in *A Glimpse at the Art of Japan* (1876).³⁸⁵ Interest in human development was a primary driver of archaeological, ethnographical, and art historical inquiries into objects and human behaviours in the nineteenth century. This explains why a ‘cultural’ lens was applied to Japanese ceramics and art for their interpretation.

³⁸² James Jackson Jarves, ‘The Manners of the Latin and Anglo-Saxon Races Considered as a Fine Art’, *The Art Journal* 13 (1874), 129.

³⁸³ Jarves, 129–31.

³⁸⁴ Rutherford Alcock, ‘Japanese Art’, *Art Journal* 14 (1875), 101.

³⁸⁵ James Jackson Jarves, *A Glimpse at the Art of Japan* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1876), 30, 105, 183–4.

Chapter Three: Franks's Japanese Ceramics Collecting Network

The process of developing knowledge and gathering Japanese ceramics involved a variety of agents who crossed the boundaries of private, public and national borders. This chapter discusses Franks's network which supported the formation of his knowledge and collection of Japanese teaware, primarily based on materials in Franks's archive held at the Japanese section of the British Museum and the information written in his catalogues.³⁸⁶

3.1 Foreign Residents in Japan

As the market for Japanese objects increased in Britain from the 1870s, foreign residents in Japan worked as important first-hand providers of objects and knowledge to residents in Britain. As discussed in chapter two, these individuals played essential roles for institutional collecting and a bottom-up collecting process characterising Victorian collecting. The agents could be categorised as collectors, mediators, or dealers depending on the scale and the extent of involvement in collecting as well as their motivation in treating objects. Moreover, foreign residents in Japan provided information on Japanese art and culture for their home country. However, their activity has faded into oblivion because their involvement in the transfer of knowledge and objects was primarily conducted in the private sphere. Their activities related to Japanese culture do not necessarily correlate with their professions. Therefore, unless they reached the status of an acknowledged Japanologist, their contributions tend to remain unrecognised.

³⁸⁶ Franks Archive held at the Japan section, Department of Asia, the British Museum is approximately in a volume of three cardboard boxes. For the identified agents in the archive, see Appendix C.

By the late 1870s, Japanese domestic teaware entered the British art market along with other Japanese things through visitors to Japan. The Franks archive includes sales catalogues of Japanese ceramics containing teaware. One representative example is *A List of Choice Porcelain from Japan and Other Curios* (1877), which shows ceramics from over 30 kilns.³⁸⁷ Although the majority of products were made in famous export kilns such as Hizen, Satsuma and Kyoto, the collection by Alexander Wallace (1829-1899), who lived in Japan for a few years contained stoneware from local kilns such as Hagi and Takatori. This collection was probably formed alongside Wallace's side business of growing Japanese lilies and importing silkworms.³⁸⁸ He explains that he acquired the objects and the 'native' knowledge of production through his friendship with artists in Japan.³⁸⁹ Besides the inclusion of products from different kilns, the catalogue uses transliteration for vessels and motifs unique to Japanese culture. Japanese transliterations are added to tea bowls, such as 'chawan (tea bowl)' for a Satsuma deep bowl, 'usa[sic]-cha-chawan (tea bowl for light whipped tea)' for a Takatori bowl, and 'sencha chawan (tea bowl for steeped tea)' for an Imado cup.³⁹⁰ The domestic teapot with a handle on the side is also named with the Japanese term 'Kibischo[sic]'.³⁹¹ This language shows that at least some collectors recognised the existence of different ways of tea drinking and its pertinence to Japanese teaware.

³⁸⁷ Alexander Wallace, *A List of Choice Porcelain from Japan and Other Curious* (Colchester: The New Plant and Bulb Company, 1877), 1–12. The cover page calls Wallace's company 'New Plant and Curio merchant'.

³⁸⁸ 'Obituary', in *The Entomologist's Monthly Magazine*, vol. 10, 2 (Oxford: Entomologist's Monthly Magazine Ltd, 1899), 275–76.

³⁸⁹ Wallace, cover page.

³⁹⁰ Wallace, 8, 12.

³⁹¹ Wallace, 4, 7. *Kibishō* 急焼 is an old term for *kyūsu* 急須.

British Legation as a Cultural Hub

While it is unknown to what extent these auctions influenced Franks in his understanding of ceramic utensils for tea, British diplomats in the Victorian era are a significant source for Franks in collecting information and objects from Japan. Laurence Smith points out that Franks's interest in Japanese art began with the encounter with Sir Rutherford Alcock, the first British Consul in Japan, who collected Japanese objects for the London International Exhibition in 1862.³⁹² The Alcock collection of Japanese objects inspired art critics and collectors who had never been to Japan. An artist, John Leighton, lectured on Japanese art based on the Alcock collection at the Royal Institution in May 1865, followed by George Ashdown Audsley, the architect of Liverpool at the Architectural Association in London, 1874.³⁹³ However, Franks's contact with A.B. Mitford is more visible than Alcock in Franks's literature. Mitford was a British diplomat who served at the British Legation in Japan from 1866 to 70. As shown in chapter one, Franks's quotation of Mitford's comments in 1876 indicates the reception of teapots in the earliest Japanese 'pottery' category of Franks' collection (Fig. 1, Fig. 2).

Nevertheless, Earnest Satow was the most influential diplomat for Franks in the formation of knowledge and collections of Japanese ceramics. Satow worked in the British legation in Japan during 1862 and 1883, when Franks was devoted to collecting Japanese ceramics. A recent article by Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere reveals that there are twelve correspondences from Satow to Franks during 1875 and 1880 in the Franks archive at the British Museum.³⁹⁴

³⁹² Smith, 'The Art and Antiquities of Japan', 263. The Japanese objects are recorded in Rutherford Alcock, *Catalogue of Works of Industry and Art, Sent from Japan* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1862). Alcock published articles on Japanese arts in *Art Journal*, which were republished as Rutherford Alcock, *Art and Art Industries in Japan* (London: Virtue and Co., 1878).

³⁹³ Alcock, 'Japanese Art', *Art Journal* 14, 102.

³⁹⁴ Rousmaniere, 'Kuni no tame no shūshū', 31.

These documents show that Satow not only supported Franks's collecting but also connected him to Satow's network of Japanese scholars in Japan.

Franks acknowledges Satow for his literacy in Japanese in his catalogue.³⁹⁵ However, the letters at the British Museum disclose Satow's more active contribution to Franks's collection. He transmitted the latest information and objects from Japan to Britain. His diplomatic and scholarly network reduced Franks's barrier in language and distance from Japan. Satow's involvement extends to connecting Franks to scholars in Japan. For example, in 1877, Satow translated the letter to Franks from Ninagawa Noritane 蜷川式胤 (1835–1885), then the most famous native connoisseur of Japanese ceramics at the time.³⁹⁶ Rousmaniere points out the significance of the interaction between Franks and Ninagawa for Franks's shifting focus of collecting to stoneware and earthenware.³⁹⁷ In the initial contact with Franks via Satow, Ninagawa thanked Franks for sending him the catalogue of *Oriental Porcelain and Pottery* (1876) and a Japanese cup and saucer, which Ninagawa identified as Owari porcelain.³⁹⁸ Then, he claimed that Franks collection was not old enough from the perspective of an antiquarian. Along with his letter, Ninagawa sent two teawares for whipped tea to Franks as examples of old Japanese ceramics. The tea jar gifted to Franks made in Owari, currently, Aichi prefecture (Fig. 14) and the celadon tea bowl produced in Kyoto (Fig. 15) are included in the last part of the second edition of Franks's *Oriental Porcelain and*

³⁹⁵ Augustus W. Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 1st ed., viii.

³⁹⁶ Ernest Satow's translation of Ninagawa Noritane's letter to Augustus W. Franks, May 1877, Franks023. See Rousmaniere, 'Kuni no tame no shūshū', 31, Fig. 6.

³⁹⁷ Rousmaniere, 'A.W. Franks, N. Ninagawa and the British Museum', 32. Rousmaniere and Kaner, 'Collecting East Asia in Nineteenth-Century Britain', 207–9.

³⁹⁸ Letter from Ninagawa Noritane to Augustus W. Franks, May 1877, Franks Archive, Japanese section, British Museum, Franks022. See Rousmaniere, 'Kuni no tame no shūshū', 31, Fig. 5.

Pottery (1878).³⁹⁹ Satow's function as a hub for the transfer of objects can also be seen in the letter from Nanjo Bunyū 南條文雄 (1849–1927) to Franks, which explains that Nanjo sent teapots via Satow in 1880.⁴⁰⁰



Fig. 14 Tea jar with ivory lid, Seto ware, Edo period, previously owned by Ninagawa Noritane, Franks collection.

Fig. 15 Tea bowl with incised decoration, Kyoto ware, Edo period, previously owned by Ninagawa Noritane, Franks collection.

Satow was, in addition to being a diplomat, a founding member of the Asiatic Society of Japan and worked as a secretary of correspondence. This society was founded by British and American residents in Japan in 1872 and is still active today. Franks had never been a member, yet the council of the Society appointed Franks as an Honorary Member in 1878.⁴⁰¹ The report of the President and Council of the same year listed the subjects of Japanese studies which need further investigations, including the aesthetics of Japanese art in comparison with China and India.⁴⁰² It is reasonable to assume that the Society positively evaluated Franks's comparative study of Japanese ceramics with Chinese counterparts

³⁹⁹ Augustus W. Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 2nd ed., 205.

⁴⁰⁰ Letter from Nanjō Bunyū to Augustus W. Franks, 6 Feb 1880, Franks Archive, Japanese section, British Museum, Franks035. See Appendix B, Transcript 1.

⁴⁰¹ 'Report of the President and Council of the Asiatic Society Laid before the Members at the Annual Meeting Held in Tokiyo, 22nd June, 1878', in *Asiatic Society of Japan Transactions*, vol. 6 Part 2, 1878, iii.

⁴⁰² 'Report of the President and Council of the Asiatic Society', iii.

published as a form of a catalogue in 1876 and 1878 because it fills this gap in contemporary Japanese studies. It was Satow who informed Franks of his honorary membership to the Society informally and formally in his letter to Franks in 1878: ‘I enclose an official letter informing you that we have elected you an Honorary Member of the Asiatic Society of Japan, and hence forward I shall send you the proceedings regularly as soon as they appear.’⁴⁰³ Satow was an active member of the society and himself published an article on Korean potters’ involvement in the production of the Satsuma kiln, a copy of which is still in Franks’s archive.⁴⁰⁴ Satow supported Franks with his language skills and his network in Japan. Franks’s approach to looking at Japanese materials from a comparative perspective was desirable for scholars of Japanese studies in the late 1870s. The network bridged by Satow between Britain and Japan functioned interactively.

***Yatoi’s* Collection and Experience**

Satow’s contribution to Franks can also be found beyond Japanese ceramics. Satow introduced William Anderson (1842–1900) to Franks for consulting on the publication of Anderson’s collection of Japanese prints.⁴⁰⁵ Anderson developed his understanding of Japanese arts and culture from 1873 to 1880 during the period he taught at the Naval Medical College in Tokyo and was appointed as a medical officer at the British Legation.⁴⁰⁶ Later the Anderson collection was acquired by the British Museum as the first important collection in

⁴⁰³ Postscript to the letter written on 4 January from Ernest Satow to Augustus W. Franks, 7 January 1878, Franks Archive, Japanese Section, British Museum, Franks028. See Appendix B, Transcript 2.

⁴⁰⁴ Satow, ‘The Korean Potters in Satsuma’. Franks Archive, Japanese Section, British Museum, Franks008.

⁴⁰⁵ Letter from Ernest Satow to Augustus W. Franks, 20 January 1880, Franks Archive, Japanese Section, British Museum, Franks032. This letter also reveals that Satow asked Anderson to bring Ninagawa’s sixth volume of *Kanko zusesu* to Franks. See Appendix B, Transcript 3.

⁴⁰⁶ ‘Obituary. Professor William Anderson, F.R.C.S. Chairman of Council’, *Transactions and Proceedings of Japan Society, London* 5 (1902): 73–74.

this field for the Museum. Probably related to this acquisition, a brazier of the face of a demon for steeped tea from Anderson entered the British Museum in 1885 (Fig. 16).



Fig. 16 Tripod brazier in the form of a demon's head with wide mouth, nineteenth century, collected by William Anderson.

During the 1870s, the development of Japanese studies by British and German societies created a new route for transmitting information from Japan to Britain. Not only the Asiatic Society of Japan but also the publication of German research on Japanese studies in Japan had an impact on Franks's knowledge. At the same time of Franks's appointment in 1878, a German scholar, Johannes Justus Rein (1835–1918) was listed as an Honorary Member of the Asiatic Society of Japan, which was the first inclusion of a European scholar to the Society which was led by British and Americans.⁴⁰⁷ This society's approach to the German scholar in

⁴⁰⁷ 'Report of the President and Council of the Asiatic Society', iii. Dr. Johannes Justus Rein of the University of Marburg is a geographer who travelled and researched Japan for the Prussian government.

the late 1870s corresponds to Franks's reference to an article by a German scholar in his *Japanese pottery* (1880). Franks cites Dr Funk's account of the Japanese tea ceremony based on his experience (1874) published by OAG, Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (German Society for Nature and Folklore of East Asia), which is the German counterpart of the British-led Asiatic Society of Japan.⁴⁰⁸ Dr Funk was Hermann Karl Ludwig Funk (1844–1888), a teacher of German and Latin at the Tokyo Medical School during 1873 and 1876.⁴⁰⁹ Funk was a member of OAG from its foundation in 1873 and published articles on Japanese rituals.⁴¹⁰ The appearance of Funk's scholarship in Franks's writing indirectly demonstrates an internationally nurtured Anglo-German scholarly network in the late nineteenth century.⁴¹¹

Franks was fortunate enough to have a good friend to inform him of the up-to-date research by Funk. Frank Dillon (1823–1909), a British watercolour artist spoke to Franks about Funk's article on chanoyu translated from German into English on *Japan Mail*.⁴¹² Dillon was an active member of the BFAC and he contributed to the introduction to the exhibition catalogue for *Japanese and Chinese Works of Art* held at the Club in 1878.⁴¹³ He was also a member of

⁴⁰⁸ Funk, 'Ueber die Japanischen Theegesellschaften Cha No Yu'.

⁴⁰⁹ OAG, 'Hermann Karl Ludwig Funk'. OAG – Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (Tokyo), accessed 18 January 2021, <https://oag.jp/people/hermann-karl-ludwig-funk/>. Tōkyō Daigaku Igakubu Sōritsu Hyakunen Kinenkai, *Tōkyō Daigaku Igakubu hyakunenshi* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1967), 125.

⁴¹⁰ Terauchi, 'Reoporuto Myureru no Nihon ongaku ni kansuru nōto ni tsuite, 31, 69.

⁴¹¹ Heather Ellis and Ulrike Kirchberger, eds., *Anglo-German Scholarly Networks in the Long Nineteenth Century*, History of Science and Medicine Library. Knowledge Infrastructure and Knowledge Economy, volume 43/4 (Leiden: Brill Nijhoff, 2014).

⁴¹² Letter from Frank Dillon to Augustus W. Franks, 20 December [1876], Franks Archive, Japanese Section, British Museum, Franks039. In this letter, Dillon enclosed a copy of 'the Handbook to the Japanese Section of the Philadelphia Exhibition' and offered him support to obtain Funk's article if Franks was unable to do so. See Appendix B, Transcript 4.

⁴¹³ BFAC, *Exhibition of Japanese and Chinese Works of Art*. M.A.T., 'Japanese Decorative Art', *Art Journal* 19 (1880): 83.

ICO as Franks was.⁴¹⁴ The English language journalism and Franks's social network composed of peers with a similar interest in Japan enabled Franks to access information on the culture of a distanced land.

Officer as a Collector

British officers are also important agents for Franks's acquisition of Japanese ceramics. Reverend C. J. Todd (1855–1935), a navy chaplain who stayed in Japan in 1890–92 is an important donor of Japanese art at the British Museum, whose collections of ceramics, lacquerware and paintings were donated by his wife to the museum in 1939.⁴¹⁵ An unpublished letter from Todd to Franks and Franks's notes reveal that Todd sent Franks sixteen Japanese ceramics with notes on the historical backgrounds of some vessels in the 1890s, long before Todd's bequest. Considering Todd's stay in Japan from 1890 and Franks's death in 1897, Franks acquired the collection circa 1890–1897. A page from Todd's letter paid particular attention to the ceramics from the end of the Edo period which ceased to be produced at the beginning of the Meiji era.⁴¹⁶ Franks describes sixteen objects by production site, object type, and visual description, which illustrates the diversity of this acquisition (Fig. 18, Fig. 20). These ceramics cover products from Kyushu to Hokkaido with different functions such as utensils for tea (Fig. 17, Fig. 19), bottles for *sake*, and a dish for raw fish. Todd's notes on the production of ceramics and the choice of different examples suggest that he gathered the ceramics according to more than aesthetic criteria. It is uncertain if Franks

⁴¹⁴ ICO, Report of the Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Orientalists Held in London, 1874 (London: Trübner, 1874), vi.

⁴¹⁵ R. S. Jenyns, 'The Todd Collection', *The British Museum Quarterly*, 1939, 70–72. He is also a donor of Japanese ceramic collection to the Maidstone Museum, Kent. See chapter six.

⁴¹⁶ C. J. Todd, Note on ceramics, attached to Franks's notes, Franks Archive, Japanese Section, British Museum, Franks058. See Appendix B, Transcript 5.

asked Todd to gather different specimens beforehand, but this acquisition suggests the line between private, commercial and institutional is fluid.



Fig. 17 Lid-rest with iris design, Kyoto ware, late eighteenth to nineteenth century, previously owned by C. J. Todd, Franks collection.

Fig. 18 Franks's sketch of ex-Todd collection (detail).



Fig. 19 Tea bowl with green glaze, Satsuma ware, Edo period, previously owned by C. J. Todd, Franks collection.

Fig. 20 Franks's sketch of ex-Todd collection (detail).

3.2 Gifting, Marketing and Competing for the Ninagawa Collection

Satow's letters at the British Museum record that he mediated the dialogue between Franks and Ninagawa, and transferred the copies of Ninagawa's *Kanko zusetu* 観古図説 (Illustrated Catalogue to Examine Antiquities) and Ninagawa's collection to Franks. Ninagawa was appointed to a post at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1871 (Meiji 4) and had connections with delegations from different countries. To promote diplomatic and cultural friendship, he

gifted Japanese objects to museums in Europe and the U.S as well as foreign residents who were interested in the subject.⁴¹⁷ In 1875, Ninagawa presented a set of male kimono specially made for the British Museum before gifting ceramics to Franks (Fig. 21).



Fig. 21 Hakama donated by Ninagawa Noritane, February 1875.

The Ninagawa collection of Japanese ceramics acquired additional values by being depicted and explained in his *Kanko zusetu* published in 1876–1878. Objects from the Ninagawa collection illustrated in his catalogues functioned as learning materials in the 1870–80s among non-Japanese collectors when an encyclopaedia of Japanese ceramics was absent. His profound impact is well known on Morse’s collection and in the 1880s among Parisian collectors.⁴¹⁸ The polychrome lithographic illustrations of the catalogues must have satisfied

⁴¹⁷ Ninagawa Chikamasa 蜷川親正, ‘Mōsu no Nihon korekushon to Ninagawa Noritane モーソの日本陶器コレクションと蜷川式胤’, *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Nippon* 87, no. 3 (1979). 320.

⁴¹⁸ Edward S. Morse, ‘Ninagawa’s Types of Japanese Pottery’, *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, 1913, 10. Imai Yūko 今井祐子, *Tōgei no Japonisumu 陶芸のジャポニスム* (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai 名古屋大学出版会, 2016), 73.

the visual pleasure of readers after the sensation of Bowes and Audsley's *Keramic Art of Japan* (1865). However, the texts of the catalogues were as important as the illustrations. *Kanko zusetu* filled the blanks of information on Japanese ceramic history providing descriptions of objects and manufacturers from Japanese sources. For this point, Satow criticized Bowes and Audsley's recent publication as written 'in the dark'.⁴¹⁹ Although Ninagawa's books were written in Japanese, a French translation was published simultaneously with the first three parts of the catalogues of Japanese ceramics.⁴²⁰ This allowed non-Japanese readers to understand the contents, though Franks points out the inaccuracy of the translation.⁴²¹ When the fourth and fifth parts of the catalogue delayed the translation, Satow was even planning to publish the English version.⁴²² Although Satow sent original Japanese catalogues to Franks without translation, Kasawara Kenju, a Japanese student in England translated the texts for Franks.⁴²³

In the rising interest in Japanese ceramics in Europe and among foreigners employed in Japan, the ready-made set of information and objects possessed both educational and commercial values. While *Kanko zusetu* functioned as an important reference, it also functioned as sales catalogues for his collection. In the letter from 14 June 1877, Satow informed Franks of Ninagawa's plan to sell his ceramic collection when his book was

⁴¹⁹ Letter from Ernest Satow to Augustus W. Franks, 24 March 1877, Franks Archive, Japanese Section, British Museum, Franks021. See Appendix B, Transcript 6.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ Franks, *Japanese Pottery*, xv.

⁴²² Letter from Ernest Satow to Augustus W. Franks, 11 Oct 1877, Franks Archive, Japanese Section, British Museum, Franks030. See Appendix B, Transcript 7. As Satow half joked to Franks in this letter, it was technically possible to translate Japanese texts to English without permission because there was no copyright treaty between Japan and England.

⁴²³ Kasawara Kenju, translated texts of *Kanko zusetu* volumes 4–5 from Japanese into English, Franks Archive, Japanese Section, British Museum, Franks051, Franks052.

publicly available and offered to secure the objects for Franks.⁴²⁴ Satow recommended Franks to purchase the collection if his aim of collecting Japanese ceramics was to demonstrate the ‘history of manufacture’.⁴²⁵ Significantly, Satow distinguished the collection from those of masterpieces preferred in European or Japanese tastes.

When you set about forming the ceramic collection you spoke to me of just before I left, will it be your chief object to illustrate form, or uses, or do you wish merely to get together master pieces of beautiful pottery and porcelain according to either European or native taste. If the collection is confined to the former two objects it will be easy to make and cost little. The purchase of Ninagawa's collection would be sufficient probably to illustrate the history of the manufacture.⁴²⁶

From the Ninagawa collection, Franks purchased not only whipped teaware but also steeped teaware and utensils for meals (Fig. 22). This attitude corresponds to the range of objects included in Ninagawa’s catalogues and Franks’s intention to collect objects to demonstrate the history of the industry.



Fig. 22 Teapot with design of scrolls, probably Kyoto ware, 1826-1875, Franks collection.

⁴²⁴ Letter from Ernest Satow to Augustus W. Franks, 14 June 1877, Franks Archive, Japanese Section, British Museum, Franks024. See Appendix B, Transcript 8.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

Franks was involved in the competition for the Ninagawa collection among foreigners in the 1870s, which mirrors British competition with France and Germany in Oriental Studies.

Satow was not only a foreigner who approached Ninagawa to acquire his collection.

Ninagawa's personal connection to French and German merchants prevented Satow's attempt to purchase the original objects illustrated in the catalogues in 1877. According to Satow, Franks authorised the purchase of the Ninagawa collection for £300, but an unnamed collector bought the objects earlier.⁴²⁷ In the end, Franks purchased Ninagawa's 'second' collection of similar pieces to the originals of the catalogues via Satow.⁴²⁸ When Ninagawa showed the alternative collection to Satow, he reacted unfavourably as he felt betrayed by the lower quality of the objects.⁴²⁹

The mysterious collector who took the first Ninagawa collection was highly likely Siegfried Bing (1838–1905), a German dealer in Paris. It was in London where Morse discovered that Bing possessed the original works illustrated in Ninagawa's *Kanko zusetu* volumes two to five before Morse's first visit to Japan in 1877.⁴³⁰ Bing was a brother in law to Martin Behr (1841–1904), who worked with Heinrich Ahrens (1842–1886), a German dealer close to Ninagawa.⁴³¹ According to Satow's letter in 1879, Ahrens & Brothers translated volumes three, four, and five of *Kanko zusetu* into French without Ninagawa's permission and

⁴²⁷ Letter from Ernest Satow to Augustus W. Franks, 8 Oct 1877, Franks Archive, Japanese Section, British Museum, Franks025. Letter from Ernest Satow to Augustus W. Franks, 19 January 1879, Franks Archive, Japanese Section, British Museum, Franks031. See Appendix B, Transcripts 9–10.

⁴²⁸ Letter from Satow to Franks, 4 January 1878, Franks028. Appendix B, Transcript 2.

⁴²⁹ Letter from Satow to Franks, 8 October 1877, Franks025. Appendix B, Transcript 9.

⁴³⁰ Morse, 'Ninagawa's Types of Japanese Pottery', 10.

⁴³¹ Imai, *Tōgei no Japonisumu*, 105–107.

shipped them to Europe.⁴³² Furthermore, in the same letter, Satow reveals that Behr purchased the Ninagawa collection in 1877, which was supposed to be sold to Franks.⁴³³

Ninagawa researched, recorded, described, published, gifted, and sold his ceramic collection in a short cycle during the late 1870s to 80s. This series of activities seems to contradict and conflict with his work as a governmental officer responsible for recording and preserving art and treasures at shrines and temples.⁴³⁴ However, the dual attitudes towards researching and possessing Japanese culture of the past was, in fact, integrated into Japanese antiquarianism from the late Edo period. Antiquities functioned as a stimulus for a private pleasure to see and possess the old as well as a serious resource for understanding history from objects and educating the public.⁴³⁵ The interaction with a Japanese antiquarian and the acquisition of his collection transferred Japanese antiquarian attitudes towards Japanese ceramics into Franks's collection.

The Japanese antiquarianism prepared the ground for a shared field of discussing Japanese ceramics with European and American collectors. The attitude of examining the history and society of the past from objects shows the similarity with that of European antiquarian interests in their own culture as well as the ethnography of the culture of others.

Antiquarianism facilitated a smooth transition of Japanese ceramics from a Japanese connoisseur's hand to a part of the British collection of ceramics seen by the public. This

⁴³² Letter from Satow to Franks, 19 January 1879, Franks031. Appendix B, Transcript 10.

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ Ninagawa Noritane 蜷川式胤 and Yonezaki Kiyomi 米崎清実, *Ninagawa Noritane Nara no sujimichi* 蜷川式胤「奈良の筋道」 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2005).

⁴³⁵ Ōnuma Yoshiki 大沼宜規, 'Kansei kaikaku to bunjin: "Kōzu" "Kōko" kan wo megutte, in *Yūgei bunka to dentō* 寛政改革と文人—「好事」「好古」観をめぐって—, ed. Kumakura Isao 熊倉功夫 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 中央公論美術出版, 2003), 173–94.

Japanese antiquarian marketing functioned by understanding the demand for and system of organising Japanese objects in the West as seen in chapter two.

3.3 British Dealers: Metamorphosis of Curios

A&D Hare

In the late 1870s, Franks also obtained Japanese ceramics directly through British merchants active in Japan and Britain. One of the most important dealers for Franks was A&D Hare, a company run by brothers D. J. Hare and A. J. Hare (Fig. 23). At least 41 works of the Franks collection are identifiable from Hare. The brothers had a London branch on 16 Fitzroy Street, about a ten-minutes walk from the British Museum.⁴³⁶ In 2015, Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere uncovered the existence of Hare and their role in Franks's acquisition of ceramics from China, Japan and Korea and *netsuke*, which had been kept at the Japanese section in the British Museum.⁴³⁷



Fig. 23. A stamp of 'A&D Hare' on the invoice to Franks dated 13 August 1877.

Invoices sent from A&D Hare to Franks in 1877–9 demonstrate that there were different stages of acquisition. In the primary stage, Franks's acquisitions from Hare were diverse, and in this period Japanese ceramics were intensively collected.⁴³⁸ His focus shifted in 1878 to ivory works, especially *netsuke*. It shows that his collecting of Japanese ceramics from Hare

⁴³⁶ Letter from D. J. Hare to Augustus W. Franks, 19 July 1877, Franks Archive, Japanese Section, British Museum, Franks066. Appendix B, Transcript 11.

⁴³⁷ Rousmaniere, 'Kuni no tame no shūshū', 33.

⁴³⁸ Invoices and a letter from Hare to Franks, from 12 March to 19 December 1877, Franks Archive, Japanese Section, British Museum, Franks066.

was intended to enrich the diversity of Japanese ceramics in the same year as the acquisition of Ninagawa collection through Satow. A teaware purchased from Hare was categorised in the additional catalogue section of ‘Japanese Pottery’ in the second edition of Franks’s catalogue in 1878 (Fig. 24).⁴³⁹ This tea bowl produced in the Iwakurasan kiln, Kyoto functioned as a reference similar to literary evidence. Franks reproduced the kiln mark on the base (Fig. 25) and explained the history of the kiln in the section on ‘Japanese marks’.⁴⁴⁰ The purchase of objects from Hare continued even after the publication of Franks’s catalogue in 1878.



Fig. 24 Iwakurasan kiln, Tea bowl, stoneware with overglaze polychrome enamels, Awata ware, nineteenth century, Franks collection.

Fig. 25 Mark of Iwakurasan kiln, in Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 1878.

Despite the plethora of objects sold to Franks, the details about the dealer had long been unknown. Franks mentioned the help of ‘David Hare’ in the second edition of his catalogue of East Asian ceramics, who is introduced as a friend in common with Franks’s Japanese friends Kasawara and Nanjō.⁴⁴¹ David Hare might be D. J. Hare. However, further investigation is necessary to confirm his identification. The registries of foreign residents in

⁴³⁹ Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 2nd ed., 178.

⁴⁴⁰ Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 2nd ed., 231.

⁴⁴¹ Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 2nd ed., vii.

Japan during the 1870s and 1880s provide some information about Hare. *The Japan Herald Directory* of 1872 notes the name of A. J. Hare and D. J. Hare as merchants in Edo.⁴⁴²

According to *the Japan Gazette Directory*, the dealers started their business in Edo as Hare & Co. with Zeising. H, possibly a Chinese assistant by 1872.⁴⁴³ The name of Zeising is missing in the directory for 1874.⁴⁴⁴ From the directory for 1875, the brothers resided separately, and D. J. Hare seems to have left Tokyo by 1877.⁴⁴⁵

Fragments of historical sources suggest that A. J. Hare was an individual who had connections to Japan not only commercially but also diplomatically and academically. In 1877, A. J. Hare lived at Minami Kinroku-chō.⁴⁴⁶ Interestingly, A. J. Hare, formerly registered as a merchant in 1872, became a teacher in 1875. Alexander Joseph Hare (1847–1918) who had lived at the Minami Kinroku-chō address since 1875 was a teacher privately employed by Sano Kanae 佐野鼎 (1831–1877), a former retainer of the Kaga Kanazawa clan and founder of Tokyo Kaisei Gakkō, currently Kaisei Junior and Senior High School.⁴⁴⁷ According to a record from Hitotsubashi University, which started as Tokyo Kōtō Shōgyō Gakkō (Tokyo Higher School of Commerce), Hare originated in London and studied at universities in France and Prussia.⁴⁴⁸ After his arrival in Japan in 1868, he executed a variety

⁴⁴² Japan Herald, 'Japan Daily Herald' Directory and Hong List, for Yokohama, Yedo, Osaka, Hakodate, Niigata, and Nagasaki (Japan Herald, 1872), 94.

⁴⁴³ Japan Gazette, '*Japan Gazette*' Hong List and Directory for 1872 (Yokohama: The office of 'Japan Gazette', 1872), 43.

⁴⁴⁴ China Mail, *The China Directory for 1874* (Hong Kong: the 'China Mail' office, 1874).

⁴⁴⁵ Japan Gazette, '*Japan Gazette*' Hong List and Directory for 1875 (Yokohama: The office of 'Japan Gazette', 1875), 57. Japan Gazette, '*Japan Gazette*' Hong List and Directory for 1877 (Yokohama: The office of 'Japan Gazette', 1877), 61. Reproduction of these directories are available in Tatewaki Kazuo, ed., *Bakumatsu Meiji zainichi gaikokujin kikan meikan: Japan Directory*, 48 vols (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 1996).

⁴⁴⁶ Hongkong Daily Press, *The Chronicle & Directory for China, Japan, & the Phillipines for the Year 1877* (Hong Kong: Hongkong 'Daily Press' Office, 1877), 336. Minamikinroku-chō is in current Ginza, Chūō-ku, Tokyo. No address is mentioned for D. J. Hare.

⁴⁴⁷ Tokyo-to Sōmukyoku Bunshoka, 'Tokyo Kaishi to Tsukiji Kyoryūchi' (Tokyo, 1950), 69.

⁴⁴⁸ Hitotsubashi Daigaku Gakuenshi Kankō Inkaikai 一橋大学学園史刊行委員会,

of jobs from a translator for the Prussian Legation, an employee for Walsh Hall & Co., to teaching at public and private institutions. At the Tokyo Kōtō Shōgyō Gakkō, Hare taught English and commercial writing from 1879 to 1917.⁴⁴⁹ In 1929, Hare's pupils installed a gravestone and memorial monument to him in the area of the foreign deceased in the Zōshigaya cemetery in Tokyo (Fig. 26).⁴⁵⁰ In front of the monuments, a new board was built to commemorate him in 2016 by Josuikai, an alumnus of Hitotsubashi University. The commemoration of the British teacher was revived again.



Fig. 26 Alexander J. Hare's grave and monument, and the transcription of the text on them. Zōshigaya Cemetery, Tokyo.

Hitotsubashi daigaku 120 nenshi: Captain of industry wo koete 一橋大学百二十年史: Captain of industry をこえて (Tokyo: Hitotsubashi University 一橋大学, 1995), 32.

⁴⁴⁹ Hitotsubashi Daigaku Gakuenshi Kankō Inkaï, *Hitotsubashi daigaku 120 nenshi*, 32.

⁴⁵⁰ Tezuka Tatsumaro 手塚竜麿, *Nihon kindaika no senkusha tachi* 日本近代化の先駆者たち (Tokyo: Azuma Shobō 吾妻書房, 1975).

For A. J. Hare, dealing in Japanese ceramics might have been a job on the side. The period between 1877 and 1878, when Franks purchased objects from A&D Hare, appears to be an unstable period for A. J. Hare as a professional teacher. Sano Kanae, Hare's patron, died in 1877. It is in 1879 when he started his lifelong, stable job at Tokyo Kōtō Shōgyō Gakkō. However, his side business might have been connected to his own interests or one of the profitable businesses for the foreigners who understood Japanese. Ninagawa Chikamasa 蜷川親正, a son of Ninagawa Noritane's nephew, lists the name of certain 'へーヤ (Hare)' among foreign residents in Japan such as Siebold and Wagener, and museums in Europe, who received some of the Ninagawa collection as gifts.⁴⁵¹ It is possible that he had connections with Japanese collectors of ceramics as well as his fellow foreign residents in Japan who were actively involved in gathering and promoting Japanese ceramics. Hare's working experience at Walsh & Hall Co. also suggests that he was acquainted with Behr, who also worked for the company from 1876 and acquired the Ninagawa collection in 1877, as noted previously.

While the Ninagawa collection was understood as antiquities that demonstrate the history of manufacture, vessels listed in A&D Hare's invoice were commercially available 'curios'.⁴⁵² Despite the categorical difference, the antiquities and curios complement each other in Franks' collection. Curios played the same role as antiquities, floating in the boundaries between the commercial market and scholarly research.

⁴⁵¹ Ninagawa, 'Mōsu no Nihon korekushon to Ninagawa Noritane', 320.

⁴⁵² D. J. Hare call Japanese objects 'curios' in his invoice to Franks. For example, Invoice from D. J. Hare to Augustus W. Franks, 22 March 1877, Franks Archive, Japanese Section, British Museum, Franks066. Appendix B, Transcript 12.

The categorical shift in things from the Far East is commonly observed in the collecting of objects in the 1870s. Judith Green explores the ambiguity between art and ethnography of John Henry Gray's collection of Chinese 'curios' exhibited in the Royal Pavilion in Brighton in 1877.⁴⁵³ Gray collected objects while residing in China as 'bric-a-brac', but his framing and description of objects turned them into a comprehensive collection of 'native work'.⁴⁵⁴ The collection acquired cultural authenticity for its manufacturing technology as well as its function in demonstrating 'the social life' of the Chinese. The similar movement of Japanese curios into a meaningful category within an academic context is also seen in Franks's acquisition of objects from A&D Hare.

The awareness of 'native' authenticity came to be a great concern of collecting in the 1870s. In the case of Gray's collection, Green discusses the collector's experience in China as a device for creating an 'authentic' collection. However, the lack of such a direct experience of living in Japan meant that Franks had to borrow a framework based on indirect knowledge and learning via mediators. Dealers, despite the fact that they dealt in objects described as 'curios', played important roles in making the curios into something else. In some of their invoices (Fig. 27), Hare provided detailed descriptions—including production, provenance, rarity or the iconological meanings of each article, which is different from a formatted invoice of London dealers like W. Wareham (Fig. 28). They sold not only the objects but also their knowledge of them.

⁴⁵³ Judith Green, "'Curiosity,' 'Art' and 'Ethnography' in the Chinese Collections of John Henry Gray", in *Collectors: Individuals and Institutions*, ed. Anthony Shelton (London: Horniman Museum, 2001), 111–28.

⁴⁵⁴ Green, 111–121.

Wmby 7581177, 834 ✓

A. W. Franks Esq.

To D. J. Hare

To Curios purchased 14/16 Dec 1877 £ 2 2 0

Lot 364. One vase. Chinese work Lungking - 5.0

703 Large bottle (for sake) Lap. made at
Yate shiro Higo province. On the body of
bottle is the character for 'longevity' in 7
diff. ornamental styles. at least in these
marks. This vase was made some 50000 years
ago. & not for sale but for presentation among
the nobility. It is called 'Kempu mono' the
+ 707 Teapot made at Sato shiro. It is called 'teu' } 0.10.0
preceding lot. Marked Ya (part of name)

+ 710 Bowl from Corea. This is called Mishima
Corean from pattern (150 yrs old) } 1.15.0

+ 711 In all goblet Chinese. Covered with
reddish yellow lined glass or glaze. This is
said to be the only piece of this ware in Japan.
"Ayame" name of flag flower on outside of
is the name given to it from its fine quality } 1.10.0

+ 714 Cha. in. in ivory, at office. Lap. (200 yrs)
shows way it has been used in manufacture.
made at Sato Yokkaichi. Sato ware (150 yrs) } 0.10.0

+ 716 Cha. in. Made at Karay Higo (100 yrs) } 0.10.0

+ 717 Round footed bowl. Lap. Kintogan. Higo
ware (100 yrs old) } 1.5.0

+ 719 Cha. nomi. Very rough imitation of
Ito (Corean) ware & has nearly the same
cost (20 yrs) made by D. Chachi at Koto } 0.10.0

720 Dish w/ handle. Made at Matsuyama
(Kagato. Choshu) (80 yrs old) } 1.1.0

+ 722 One small plate Lap. imitation
Mishima Corean this gray being darker
made by Seiroki. Koto. marked } 9.1.0

1 forward

Fig. 27 Invoice from D. J. Hare to Franks, 19 December 1877.

A. W. Franks Esq. London Jan 1st 1878

G. R. HARDING
LATE
W. WAREHAM,
Dealer in Works of Art,
ANTIQUITIES, CURIOSITIES, CHINA &c. &c.
13, CHARING CROSS ROAD,
CORNER OF ST MARTIN'S COURT,
LEICESTER SQUARE, W.C.

BANKERS: CLYDE, MILLS, CURRIE & Co.

Date	Description	Amount
1877	Jan 3 rd To Balance of A/c rendered.	214 17 0
Aug 1 st	Lot 484 Chinese, stiff porcelaine	1 15 0
Oct 14	Large stiff bottle. Staffordshire	9 6 0
	Half glass bottle L2. Pottery	4 0 0
	19 Oriental Coal plate from of Oldham	1 15 0
Nov 13	Chinese Celadon bowl. (Worgan bowl)	3 0 0
	15 Lambeth Dish R & A PARRISH 1756	5 0 0
	German Dish Coal of arm'd & Trotham egg	15 0 0
	Lambeth porcel pot in name of Mrs. H.	10 0 0
	Treviso bottle & cover with stand	30 0 0
	Broton pot & cover, v. at of arm'd	30 0 0
	Treviso bottle & cover, landrampot	15 0 0
	Menage pot & cover, cuplets on front	20 0 0
	Sarlock 273 figure 27. Chinese 273 L2.	6 0 0
	White Doreca pot perforated	2 0 0
	Oriental cup, cyclical date	3 0 0
	Blue & white Oriental basin	1 0 0
	Yon cup cover France, footed	12 0 0
	Blue Oriental vase, spire, dust green	140 0 0
18 th	Wedgwood vase, dragon handle	1 10 0
	Carried Forward	525 1 0

Fig. 28 Invoice from G. R. Harding (W. Wareham) to A.W. Franks.

J. Lyons

J. Lyons, the 'Importer of Foreign Goods' at 20 Charterhouse Street, Holborn Circus, was another important London dealer for Franks.⁴⁵⁵ It is unclear whether this Lyons was Joseph Lyons (1847–1917), famous for his catering service at various exhibitions in the 1880s. While Franks acquired a variety of products from A&D Hare, J. Lyons functioned as the provider of teawares. Franks's obsession with tea jars is demonstrated by his 97 sketches of tea jars with descriptions, of which 93 tea jars were acquired from J. Lyons (Fig. 13 in chapter two). Among the 97 tea jars, 47 jars were identified as Seto ware, followed by 11 Kyoto wares. Other kilns for the jars include Shigaraki, Satsuma, Tamba, Shitoro, Chikuzen, Karatsu, and Agano. The largest number of Seto tea jars is reasonable because the kiln was famous for tea jars and was the first to produce domestic tea jars following Chinese prototypes. Indeed, there are a few sketches of a bowl, a dish, and a vase in the same manner as the tea jars. However, the fact that there are about 100 sketches signifies that the tea jar occupied a unique position in the Franks collection.

The tea jar was a desirable category in collecting for the possibility of categorisation by kilns, the seemingly guaranteed cultural authenticity, and the availability in the Japanese market in the late 1870s. The regional and chronological variety of tea jars reflected in the physical characteristics encouraged Franks to uncover the history of manufacture at different kilns. Franks described and illustrated the details of the form, the glaze, the execution of the bottom of the jars along with an estimated production site and date, perhaps consulting the dealers' and Japanese connoisseurs' comments. Rising concern about the cultural authenticity of Japanese ceramics was not an issue for the tea jar because he received a tea jar from

⁴⁵⁵ Letter from J. Lyons to Augustus W. Franks, 18 Oct 1878, Franks Archive, Japanese Section, British Museum, Franks067. Appendix B, Transcript 13.

Ninagawa, the Japanese antiquarian in 1877. Tea jars were abundant in the Japanese market at that time because they were not in demand by the Japanese due to the unpopularity of whipped tea. It was after the 1880s when Japanese actively reused and bought them from the market for their gatherings following the revival of the whipped tea culture.⁴⁵⁶ Jacqueline Yallop argues that Victorian collecting is characterised by ‘smaller, more varied decorative objects’ compared to large paintings and sculptures preferred in the eighteenth century, corresponding to natural history collecting.⁴⁵⁷ Franks’s preference for netsuke and tea jars could reflect this trend.

3.4 Japanese Students in Britain: Translating Culture

The formation of Franks’s collection and knowledge of Japanese ceramics involved Japanese nationals in Britain. Franks acknowledged the assistance of Nanjō Bunyū and Kasawara Kenju in the preface of the second edition of *Oriental Porcelain and Pottery* written in November 1877 as well as *Japanese Pottery* (1880).⁴⁵⁸ They supported Franks in the understanding of Japanese texts and culture. They also proofread Franks’s writings on Japanese ceramics and tea culture.⁴⁵⁹

The two Japanese were the first Buddhist monks to study palaeography in Europe. In 1876, they were sent from Higashi Honganji, the main temple of Shin Buddhism. They became students of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford under F. Max Müller (1823–1900). Alongside

⁴⁵⁶ See Introduction and Edward S. Morse, *Japan Day by Day, 1877, 1878–79, 1882–83*, vol. 2 (Boston; New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917), 212.

⁴⁵⁷ Jacqueline Yallop, *Magpies, Squirrels & Thieves: How the Victorians Collected the World* (London: Atlantic Books, 2011), 3.

⁴⁵⁸ Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 2nd ed., vii. Franks, *Japanese Pottery*, xiv.

⁴⁵⁹ Letter from Nanjō Bunyū to Augustus W. Franks, 6 February 1880, Franks Archive, Japanese Section, British Museum, Franks035. Appendix B, Transcript 14.

India and China, the University of Oxford was one of the recognized international destinations to which the programme would send young scholars and monks.⁴⁶⁰

Unfortunately, in 1883 Kasawara died of pneumonia. The obituary for Kasawara by Müller records that the two students studied English in London before studying Sanskrit in Oxford from 1879.⁴⁶¹ A Japanese newspaper reports that their language skills improved enough to teach Buddhism in London in 1878.⁴⁶² A letter from Nanjō to Frank reveals that the Japanese student tried to find a teacher of Sanskrit in London before Dean Stanley (1815–1881) connected him to Müller.⁴⁶³ Although it is unclear how Franks met them first, this timing suggests that the two young Japanese scholars assisted Franks probably within a year of their first exposure to the English language, culture and life. As Franks's study and collecting of Japanese objects intersected with international Oriental Studies, Nanjō and Kasawara also attended the fifth ICO in Berlin, 1881.⁴⁶⁴

Nanjo Bunyū

Franks's connection to the Japanese in Britain extended his network for gathering objects and information from Japan. Nanjō provided the information on the local production of teapots with the support of his family in Ōgaki.⁴⁶⁵ His letter written on 16 October 1878 reveals a

⁴⁶⁰ Chōya Shimbun 朝野新聞, June 16, 1876 (Meiji 9) cited in Miyachi Masato 宮地正人, *Kokusaijin jiten: Bakumatsu Ishin* 国際人事典: 幕末・維新 (Tokyo: Mainichi Communications 毎日コミュニケーションズ, 1991), 137.

⁴⁶¹ F. Max Müller, 'Kenjin Kasawara', *The Times*, 25 September 1883.

⁴⁶² Chōya Shimbun, January 24, 1878 (Meiji 11), cited in Miyachi, *Kokusaijin jiten*, 138.

⁴⁶³ Letter from Nanjō Bunyū to Augustus W. Franks, 16 October 1878, Franks Archive, Japanese Section, British Museum, Franks034. See Appendix B, Transcript 15. P. C. Hammond, 'Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn (1815–1881), Dean of Westminster', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 23 September 2004), accessed 10 April 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26259>. Stanley, who used to teach ecclesiastical history at Oxford was dean of Westminster when he introduced Nanjō to Müller.

⁴⁶⁴ Takada, *Kokusai Tōyōgakusha Kaigi ni tsuite*, 2.

⁴⁶⁵ Letter from Nanjō Bunyū to Augustus W. Franks, 16 October 1878, Franks Archive, Japanese Section, British Museum, Franks033. See Appendix B, Transcript 16.

request of Franks who looked for teapots with the marks of ‘Onko Taiga’ and ‘Sekien’ and Nanjō organised the acquisition of six teapots from a kiln in Akasaka, currently a part of Ōgaki city in Gifu prefecture. Kilns in Akasaka produced what is called Onko ware 温故焼 from the end of the Edo period, and their products were famous for steeped tea utensils.⁴⁶⁶ Although there is no provenance information on the objects, the teapot with the mark of Taiga and others in the Franks collection could be the teapots sent from Nanjō’s hometown (Fig. 29).



Fig. 29 Teapot, marked Taiga, Onko ware, c.1878–1880, Franks collection.

Through Nanjō’s Buddhist monk network in Japan, the teapots were first sent to a temple (called ‘Konguwanzi’) in Asakaka, Tokyo and then transferred to the British Legation.⁴⁶⁷

This order of teapots from a specific kiln shows that Franks was also interested in contemporary Japanese ceramics.⁴⁶⁸ This acquisition of teapots through Nanjō also shows

⁴⁶⁶ Yokota Hiroshi 横田宏, ‘Onko yaki 温故焼’, in *Kadokawa Nihon tōji daijiten* 角川日本陶磁大辞典, ed. Yabe Yoshiaki 矢部良明 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店, 2002), 250.

⁴⁶⁷ Letter from Nanjō to Franks, 6 February 1880, Franks035. Appendix B, Transcript 1.

⁴⁶⁸ Letter from Nanjō to Franks, 16 October 1878, Franks033. Appendix B, Transcript 16.

gatherings. Significantly Kasawara again helped Franks to connect objects and their contexts through his personal experience and knowledge as a Japanese. However, his explanation of chanoyu does not provide his opinion on how to see the tea culture of his country. Funk thought the tea ceremony would die in a few years. Kasawara's letter and notes provide objective explanations about the practice and the use of things, but he is silent about the present condition of the culture or what he thought of it. The situation for contemporary tea culture could have been a subordinate issue for Franks. Franks's antiquarian interest in tea utensils and their culture were unlikely connected to contemporary practice.

3.5 Mapping the Network

This thesis, so far, has looked at how Japanese teaware generated meaning in Franks's collecting. Chapter one discussed the shifting focus of Japanese ceramics by the introduction of tea culture as an aesthetic basis for Japanese ceramic production and consumption. Within the framework of ceramics as comparative material, his cultural understanding of objects situated the subject of Japanese ceramics in ethnography. Based on the recognition of Japanese whipped tea as a disappearing culture, teawares for whipped tea were collected consciously. On the other hand, a different type of tea, steeped tea, received less attention from Franks. The vessels for steeped tea, however, were collected with other objects for everyday life. They were acquired as examples of products of contemporary Japan. The multiple frameworks for Japanese ceramics in Franks's collection correspond to how ceramics were positioned in museum spaces in London. Chapter two reframed the institutional collecting of Japanese ceramics as intended to create a national reference collection, with this as a purpose, method and strategy. Apart from the conventional view of institutional collecting as an opposite mode to private collecting, the system of Franks's collecting was analysed as an organic whole and part of a network encompassing different

agents in public and private spheres including the collector as one element. International Oriental Studies and Antiquarianism were discussed as underlying intellectual foundations for his encyclopaedic comparative study of objects from Japan including Japanese ceramics. Chapter three observed the role of Franks's network in obtaining the objects and developing his knowledge on Japanese ceramics in a knowledge and collection making system discussed in the previous two chapters. The Franks archive at the British Museum records how he developed the collection without visiting Japan by the assistance and communication with Japanese nationals in Britain and Europeans in Japan. As this collecting practice was conducted beyond the boundaries of the public and private, the transference of information and objects from Japan to Britain was made feasible by the agents engaging in Franks's collecting as their formal and informal activities. This network functioned not only as a funnel for knowledge and objects but also helped shape and transform the reception of Japanese ceramics.

Chapter Four: Henry Marsham's Japanese Ceramic Collecting Network, the 1880s–1900s

As discussed in the previous chapters on Franks, the network with agents of collecting facilitated the understanding and creation of values for the Japanese ceramics for tea gatherings. This will be even more evident if we examine a different type of collector, Henry Marsham, an avid British collector of Japanese domestic ceramics who formed his collection intensively during his stay in Japan at the beginning of the twentieth century. Fortunately, as was the case with Franks, there is archival material that can be used to reconstruct the process of Marsham's collecting. After introducing the collector, this chapter examines how travelling in Japan made him a collector, conditioned his collecting, and enabled him to network with native agents.

4.1 Henry Marsham

While the biography of Franks has been written elsewhere, nothing but a short obituary was written for Marsham. He was born in 1845 as the third son of Charles Marsham, the third Earl of Romney (1808–1874) and Lady Margaret Harriet Scott, sister of the Duke of Buccleuch.⁴⁶⁹ His eldest brother Charles (1841–1905) succeeded the fourth Earl of Romney. During 1880 and 1892, he was lord-in-waiting in the second administration of Lord Salisbury.⁴⁷⁰ Another brother, John Marsham (1842–1926), was a rector and arch Priest.⁴⁷¹ He

⁴⁶⁹ 'Death of the Earl of Romney', *The Age*, 5 April 1845, 15.

⁴⁷⁰ 'The Earl of Romney', *The Times*, 22 August 1905, 4.

⁴⁷¹ *Who Was Who 1897–1915: A Companion to Who's Who Containing the Biographies of Those Who Died During the Decade 1897–1915 With Addenda and Corrigenda* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1947), 705.

had three sisters, Margaret (1834–1919), Mary (b.1840), and Anne (b.1846).⁴⁷² After he attended Eton, Henry Marsham became an ensign in the Rifle Brigade in 1863 and was promoted to be Lieutenant in 1867.⁴⁷³ In 1874, inheriting £650 from his father at his death, Marsham retired from the army and devoted himself to his business.⁴⁷⁴ As a board member, he led India Rubber, Gutta Percha, and Telegraph Works Company from 1887 until his death.⁴⁷⁵ John Tully placed Marsham as an agent bridging politicians and industrialists as he was involved in the management of Silvertown and he had an elder brother who was in the Conservative administration.⁴⁷⁶ On the first of July 1908, Marsham died at 63 years old.⁴⁷⁷ He left an estate estimated at £30,142, equivalent to about £3,212,000 of today's money.⁴⁷⁸

Although Marsham was educated at Eton, the same as Franks, their paths are very different and no trace of Marsham can be seen in private collectors' and scholarly circles in London.

⁴⁷² Robert Marsham Townshend, *Register of the Marshams of Kent down to the year 1902* (London: Mitchell, Hughes & Clarke, 1903), register number 160, 163, 169. 'For a private memorial window and tablet in memory of the sister of Anne and Mary Marsham', documents and a photograph, 19 July 1920, Kent Archive, Maidstone, DCb/E/F/Maidstone St John/3.

⁴⁷³ 'Romney, Earl of. (Marsham.)', in *Debrett's Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage and Companionship* (London: Dean & Son, Limited, 1905), 722. 'War-Office, Pall-Mall, Oct. 2', *Morning Post*, 3 October 1863, 7. Also, Marsham, at the age of 18, tried to work at the Royal Hospital. His name is listed in the examination result for the commission. He was ranked 61st in the successful candidates of 108. 'Direct Commissions', *The Standard*, 20 May 1863, 5.

⁴⁷⁴ 'Wills and Bequests', *Morning Post*, 6 November 1874, 5. £650 at that time is roughly about £60,790 in 2017. 'Measuring Worth - Purchasing Power of the Pound', accessed 22 July 2020, <https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/>.

⁴⁷⁵ 'Public Companies', *The Times*, 16 December 1908, 5; *I.R.G.P & T.W. Co. Limited Minutes General Meetings and Board Minutes I.R.G.P & T.W. Co. Ltd*, Nos. 8–11, 1864–1912, B/BTR/IRGP/01, 10–13, London Metropolitan Archives. Marsham attended the business meetings from 1887 to 1904 as one of the directors.

⁴⁷⁶ John Tully, *Silvertown: The Lost Story of a Strike That Shook London and Helped Launch the Modern Labor Movement* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2014), 90.

⁴⁷⁷ Letter from executors of Hon. Henry Marsham to Lord Commissioners of Treasury, August 1908, T 1/11191, National Archive, Kew.

⁴⁷⁸ 'Other Wills', *The Scotsman*, 7 August 1908, 6. The address of Marsham of the time was 28 Bury Street, St. James, S.W. The currency value of 1907 is converted to that of 2019.

Instead of belonging to learned societies, Marsham was a member of the Junior Carlton Club, Bachelor's Club, and Travellers' Club.⁴⁷⁹

Travelling formed Marsham's identity. He travelled a lot beyond Europe as a businessperson in the telegraph and cable industry, which grew globally based on economic and militaristic demand. He even became a member of the Travellers' Club from 1889 until his death.⁴⁸⁰ The Club stands in the famous club district at 106 Pall Mall as it was in the nineteenth century.

The Italian palazzo style building has been unchanged since 1832 (Fig. 31).⁴⁸¹



Fig. 31 Travellers Club. Photographed by Author.

The Club, which has been continuously active up to today, was founded in 1819 and restricts

⁴⁷⁹ 'Debrett's Peerage, 722. Bachelors' Club, *Rules and List of Members. 30th May, 1891* (London: Printed for private circulation, 1891), 69. Marsham was the original member of the Bachelor's Club.

⁴⁸⁰ Ernest Satow was also a member from 1901 to his death. This information was kindly provided by Sheila Markham, the librarian of the Club, 3 Dec 2018.

⁴⁸¹ John Martin Robinson, *The Travellers Club: A Bicentennial History 1819–2019* (London: Libanus Press for The Travellers Club, 2018), 59–65. Markham kindly guided me in the Club, 8 January 2019.

its membership to those who ‘travelled out of the British Islands to a distance at least five hundred miles from London in a direct line’.⁴⁸² At the exclusive spaces defined by class and gender, Marsham developed a relationship with an important diplomatic figure, who shared the business/national interest overseas as well as the interest in art and culture of foreign countries. Ernest Satow, whom we discussed in previous chapters, maintained a life-long friendship with Marsham from the 1880s.⁴⁸³ When they dined at the Bachelors’ Club on 18 June 1883, ‘Buchanan’ and Marsham’s uncle were also present.⁴⁸⁴ Probably ‘Buchanan’ was George Buchanan (1854–1924), a British diplomat who served as a second secretary in Tokyo in 1879.⁴⁸⁵

Satow’s letters to Marsham in the 1890s include the topic of the emerging Japanese telegraph industry. A letter from 9 April 1896 shows a tension between the Japanese and European telegraph industry. Satow calls Mr Den, a Japanese principal at Telegraphic Companies of Japan ‘very patriotic’, describing the Japanese attempt to increase Japan’s status in the industry, which has been dominated by its European counterparts.⁴⁸⁶ The position of Satow as a middleman between Japanese and British telegraph industries continues in the following year. His letter from 24 February 1897 updates Marsham on the movement of the Japanese

⁴⁸² The Travellers Club, ‘The Travellers Club’, accessed 1 December 2018, <http://www.thetravellersclub.org.uk/>. Charles Barry, *The Travellers’ Club House*. (London: John Weale, 1839), 29. Duke of Buccleuch, Marsham’s uncle was also a member.

⁴⁸³ Ian Ruxton ed, *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Mason Satow, 1883–1888: A Diplomat In Siam, Japan, Britain and Elsewhere* (Ian Ruxton via Lulu.com, 2016), 31. For example, on 1 June 1883, Satow met Marsham in Basel, Switzerland.

⁴⁸⁴ Ruxton, 33.

⁴⁸⁵ ‘Buchanan, Rt Hon. Sir George (William), (25 Nov. 1854–20 Dec. 1924)’, in *Who Was Who* (Oxford University Press, 2007), accessed 10 December 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ww/9780199540884.013.U194100>.

⁴⁸⁶ Letter from Ernest Satow to Henry Marsham, 9 April 1896, PRO30/33/11/11, NAK.

telegraph industry into the international competition of exploitation of the undersea territory of the Pacific.⁴⁸⁷

Although Marsham's business interest in Japan preceded his collection of Japanese ceramics, his collecting activities surpassed his business activities by 1906, which led to his resignation from the position of chairperson at the India Rubber, Gutta Percha and Telegraph Company. Marsham's enthusiasm for East Asian ceramics was evident at least a few years before the resignation. At the end of 1904, though Marsham declined an invitation from Satow previously, Satow presented Marsham with another invitation to Beijing to show his porcelain collection 'during the intervals of your [Marsham's] search after porcelain'.⁴⁸⁸ As he did for Franks's first catalogue of East Asian ceramics, Satow also replied to Marsham's questions on Chinese reign marks and the meaning of an inscription in 1904 and 1905.⁴⁸⁹ A report on Marsham's resignation from the chairmanship in *India Rubber World* on the 1st January 1906 notes that Marsham 'now finds it necessary to reside abroad during the greatest part of the year'.⁴⁹⁰ Satow's letter on 21 January 1906 describes Marsham at the Miyako Hotel, Kyoto as being 'pleasantly engaged in' his collection.⁴⁹¹ Corresponding to the turning point when Marsham prioritised his living overseas over business in London, he intensively collected Japanese ceramics in Japan.

⁴⁸⁷ Letter from Ernest Satow to Henry Marsham, 24 February 1897, PRO30/33/11/11, NAK.

⁴⁸⁸ Letter from Ernest Satow to Henry Marsham, 22 June 1904 and 30 December 1904, PRO30/33/11/11, NAK.

⁴⁸⁹ Letters from Ernest Satow to Henry Marsham, 30 December 1904, 5 February 1905, PRO30/33/11/11, NAK.

Satow explained that 'Bandeki' in the question from Marsham was a dialectical pronunciation for Banreki, the Japanese word for Wanli period (1573–1620) in the late Ming dynasty. According to the letter, the classification of Chinese ceramics by the reign before Qing dynasty was rare among Chinese dealers.

⁴⁹⁰ The India Rubber, Gutta Percha, Telegraph Works Company, Limited, 'Directors' Report for the Year Ending September 30th, 1906', 18 December 1906, 1. Despite Marsham's residency overseas, he served the Company as Extraordinary Director in 1906.

⁴⁹¹ Letter from Ernest Satow to Henry Marsham, 21 January 1906, PRO30/33/11/11, NAK.

4.2 Travelling as a Condition of Collecting

Ise, 1882

Travelling allowed the collector to enter an object milieu. Travelling motivated and conditioned Marsham's collecting of Japanese objects. Marsham travelled in Japan with George Buchanan in January 1882. In the same year, he loaned nearly 200 objects of his Japanese art collection to the Maidstone Museum for the first time.⁴⁹² He explored different materials of Japanese works at this initial stage of collecting. According to the museum database, metalware was most favoured with 71 entries, followed by 56 ceramics and 22 lacquerwares. He sampled works from the areas of interest which he deepened in his collecting during the 1900s, including tea wares. Cups, vases, and teapots are the commonest types of his first ceramic collection, and it also includes a few tea bowls produced at Awata kilns, Kyoto.

The Asakichi Inn 麻吉旅館, Ise city where Marsham and Buchanan stayed during their trip, still keeps the hanging scroll with their signatures that is dated 5 January 1882 (Fig. 32).⁴⁹³ A rediscovered album of photography (c.1906) in Maidstone Museum contains a photograph of the hanging scroll with a letter from Marsham to the Inn written in Japanese (Fig. 33). This shows that both the inn and Marsham treasured their connection over the decades. Moreover, the fact that the inn exhibited the scroll in their private gallery a century after his visits demonstrates how Marsham's stay remains an important memory for them. The scroll

⁴⁹² Letter from Henry Marsham to Maidstone Museum, 1 Dec 1882, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum. Appendix B, Transcript 17.

⁴⁹³ This scroll was one of the exhibits in the private gallery of the Asakichi Inn when I visited on 23 July 2018.

expresses their gratitude, ‘In the house of Asakichi we had found good accommodation and received attention’. The Japanese style inn was founded in the Edo period and is the only surviving inn in the Furuichi area, which had prospered on the way between Naikū and Gekū to the Ise Shrine (Fig. 34). However, since the Meiji era, the area had experienced a difficult time due to the railways and road construction which established a new way to visit the Shrine without walking through the older route of the Edo period.⁴⁹⁴

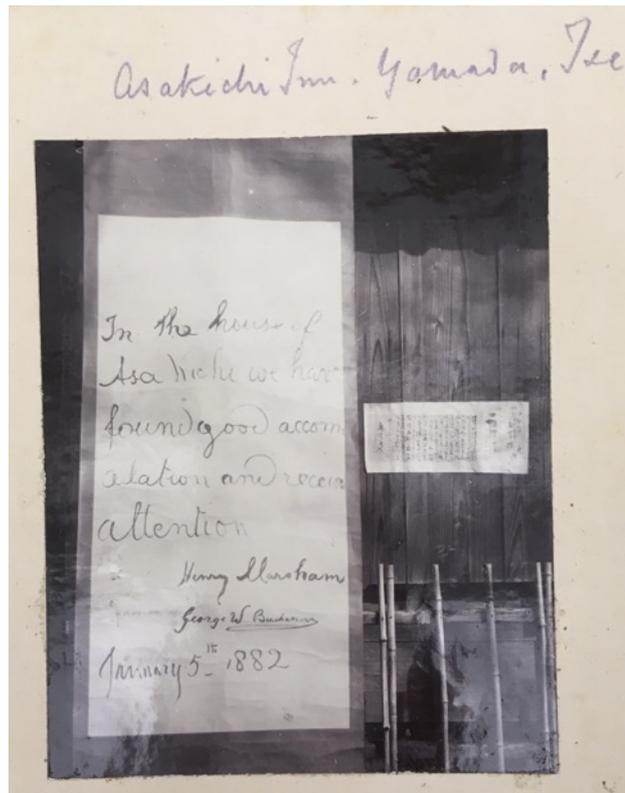
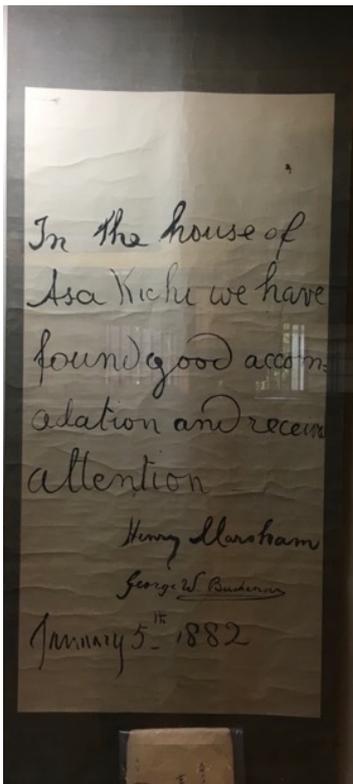


Fig. 32 Henry Marsham and George W. Buchanan, hanging scroll, 1882, Asakichi Inn, Ise. Fig. 33 Annotated by Henry Marsham, ‘Asakichi Inn, Yamada, Ise’, album of photography (detail), c.1906.

⁴⁹⁴ Ise Furuichi Sangū Kaidō Museum exhibits local history and objects related to courtesans who used to work at the inns of Furuichi, Ise. Visited on 22 July 2018.



Fig. 34 Asakichi Inn, Ise. Photographed by Author.

Although foreigners' visits to Ise were not yet common in 1882, there were signs of the development of Ise as a modern tourist site in the 1880s. Futami in Ise became the first Japanese beach for the Western-style way of retreat—bathing and relaxing at the seaside. Hinjitsukan, which was modern accommodation for noble guests was founded in 1887. Around 1907, Marsham revisited Ise and stayed at the Gonikai Hotel where visitors could view the city on the hill.⁴⁹⁵ When Marsham travelled in Ise from the end of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, the city was on the way to transforming itself to attract both domestic and foreign visitors. According to Mr Ueda, the father of the current owner of the inn, the two British guests stayed there because they were invited to the

⁴⁹⁵ Letter from Henry Marsham to J. H. Allchin with letterhead of Gonikai Hotel, Ise, 2 November 1907, Maidstone Museum. Appendix B, Transcript 18. This hotel was once run by the Dainippon Hotel group organized by the owner of Miyako Hotel in the beginning of the twentieth century. The Gonikai Hotel was demolished to become a residential area as a block. Visited the site on 23 July 2018.

Shrine for the new year. He understood that the staff at the inn must have presented as much hospitality as possible, such as layering Japanese style bedding for taller foreigners.⁴⁹⁶

The range of utensils currently at the Inn and some of the objects in the Marsham collection overlap. The similarity of objects between the Asakichi inn collection and Marsham's collection suggests that his visual and material experience of vessels at this travel destination possibly had an impact on what kinds of objects he decided to acquire for his Japanese art collection. This connection became evident after the discovery of the inn, his stays there, and the epistolary evidence. The private gallery in the Asakichi inn today accommodates many Japanese ceramics, lacquerwares and Chinese Ming and Qing porcelain used by their guests. Among the exhibits, you can find a stoneware teapot with a pomegranate knob (Fig. 35) very similar to the one in the Marsham collection at Maidstone Museum (Fig. 36).



Fig. 35 Teapot with pomegranate knob, Kyoto ware, nineteenth century, Asakichi Inn, Ise.

Fig. 36 Teapot with pomegranate knob, Kyoto ware, nineteenth century, Marsham collection.

Indeed, the rims of the teapots were formed differently—one is wavy while the other is straight. However, the fruit-shaped body and the motif of pomegranate symbolising fertility and prosperity are similar, and this appears to have been fashionable in the nineteenth century for whipped tea and steeped tea. Marsham's collection possesses another teapot and two

⁴⁹⁶ Informal discussion with Ms Ueda Shōko, who talked to me about her father's understanding of the scroll, 23 July 2018.

incense containers with a pomegranate theme (Fig. 37, Fig. 38).⁴⁹⁷ The stoneware and porcelain dishes and teapots used for eating and drinking at the inn were also the core of the Marsham collection which has an emphasis on daily utensils.



Fig. 37 Teapot with design of pomegranate and Zhang Hongfan's poem, 1878, Marsham collection.

Fig. 38 Takahashi Dōhachi IV, Incense container in shape of pomegranate, Kyoto ware, nineteenth century, Marsham collection.

Late Edo period ceramics mostly made in the nineteenth century occupy the main portion of the Marsham collection. From the twentieth–twenty-first century point of view, they are antiques. However, some of them were made just a few decades earlier for travellers in the late nineteenth century. They could have been sold as either antique or contemporary products in Japanese shops in the Meiji era. Waguya, a surviving retailer of ceramics in Ise, is currently open to the public as a private museum.⁴⁹⁸ It was originally a retailer of fish and later dealt with ceramics. The fifteenth generation of Waguya and director of the museum displays products that used to be on sale in the shop in the Meiji era at the time of the

⁴⁹⁷ Another example is an incense container in shape of pomegranate, stoneware with overglaze polychrome enamels, Kyoto ware, nineteenth century, Diameter: 6.5cm, Marsham 179(2).

⁴⁹⁸ Mie Prefecture, 'Setagawa kaiwai: Ise Machikado Hakubutsukan 伊勢まちかど博物館: 勢田川かいわい', accessed 12 April 2021, https://www.bunka.pref.mie.lg.jp/matikado/da/detail?kan_id=835500.

author's visit in 2018.⁴⁹⁹ Thus, Edo period ceramics in the Meiji era had the chance to be sold as stock products and circulated in the Japanese market.

Kyoto, c.1906

There are three Japanese style memorial albums at the Maidstone Museum presented by Marsham. Two preserve travel photography and the other is composed of paintings.⁵⁰⁰ The majority of places photographed in the albums are in Kyoto while his destinations include other regions such as Ehime, Mie, Iwate and Hokkaido.⁵⁰¹ The organised albums show detailed information not only about the places but also people whom Marsham encountered around 1906.⁵⁰² They provide clues about the collector's interactions with Japanese locals. They are a selective highlight of his stay in Japan and the most important people for him. Simultaneously, it needs to be considered that the preparation and direction of making the albums involved local people. The mutuality of creating this album from both sides echoes in his collecting of Japanese ceramics.

Kyoto was the most significant place for him to acquire and contextualise Japanese objects. Some of the photographs captured works of Kyoto artists. Kiyomizu Rokubei's figure of the god of longevity is situated in the centre of a tokonoma alcove between an incense box and an arrangement of branches of plum in front of three hanging scrolls (Fig. 39). Although this

⁴⁹⁹ Waguya, Ise, Mie prefecture, visited on 22 July 2018.

⁵⁰⁰ Albums annotated by Henry Marsham, 27 cm x 37.5 cm, Maidstone Museum, Kent, 1931.30(1)–(3). For the details of the albums, see Appendix D.

⁵⁰¹ See Appendix D for mapped destinations. Other than the form of albums, there are Marsham's photographs in the twentieth century photography collection of Maidstone Museum, which include the photographs of Ainu people and Admiral Tōgō of Japanese Navy.

⁵⁰² This dating is based on Marsham's annotation of the year in his album.

is not a part of his collection, it suggests how he learned the function of objects and the position of them on display in Japanese contexts.



Fig. 39 Annotated by Henry Marsham, 'Rokubei's figure of Jurō at Sobase', album of photography (detail), c. 1906.

Photographed objects were not limited to ceramics. The same album includes works of art in temples—sculptures of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and his wife Nene at Kōdaiji temple made in the seventeenth century (Important Cultural Property) and a wooden sliding door with a painting of carp by Maruyama Ōkyo (1733–1795) at Bishamon-dō, which is now mounted as a *tsuitate* (Fig. 40). Furthermore, along with the figure of longevity, two photographs captured Ganku (1756–1839)'s gigantic hanging scroll of a tiger over two meters in size, currently in the collection of Homma Museum of Art, Sakata, Yamagata prefecture.⁵⁰³ One photograph cropped the work with only the painted surface while the other includes the scroll and

⁵⁰³ According to Homma Museum of Art, there was no provenance known before this painting was donated by a dealer to the Museum in Showa 41 (1966). Reply to the author's email enquiry, 24 Jan 2019. Homma Museum of Art, 'Collection', 25 February 2016, <http://www.homma-museum.or.jp/collection/>.

background (Fig. 41). In 1975, Sakata city designated the tiger painting as its cultural property.

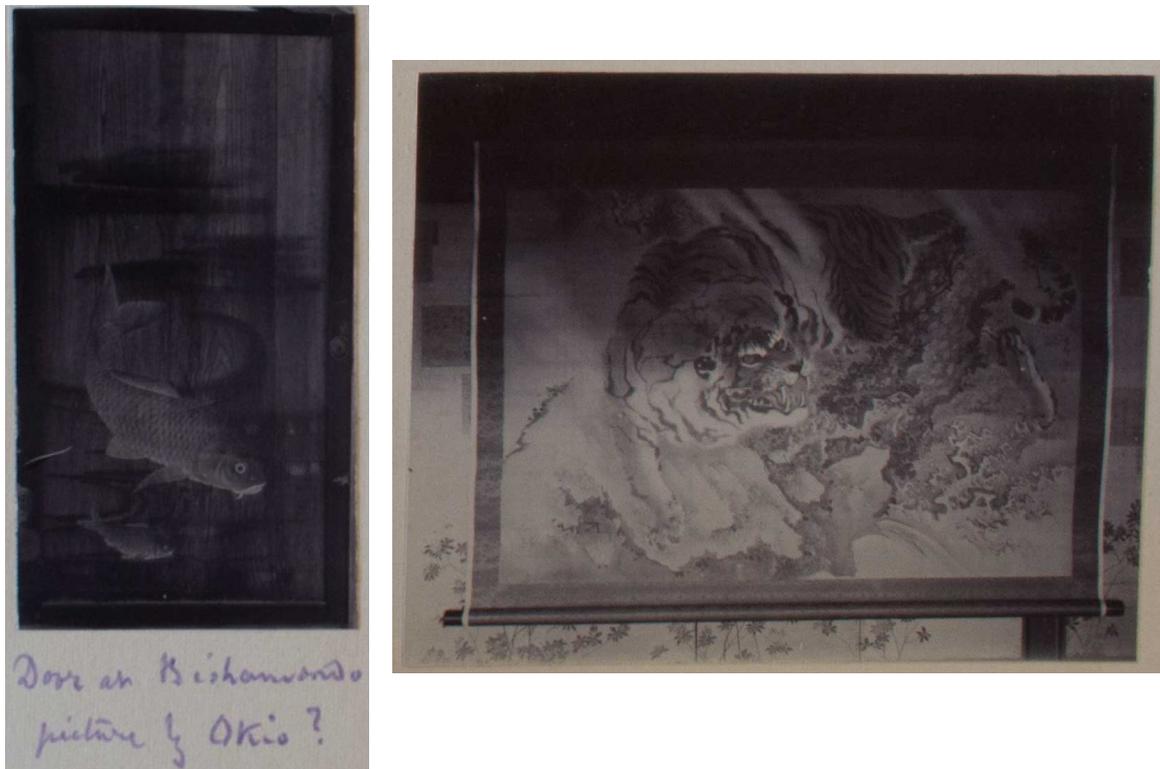


Fig. 40 Annotated by Henry Marsham, 'Door at Bishamondo picture of Okio?', album of photography (detail), c. 1906.

Fig. 41 Scroll of tiger, Henry Marsham's album of photography (detail), c. 1906.

Another album contains the photographs of Buddhist sculptures such as a stone figure of Gokō shiyui Amida at Kinkai Kōmyōji temple and wooden statues of Miroku Bosatsu (Maitreya) sitting contemplatively in the half-lotus position at Kōryūji temple, which was designated as the first national treasure in 1951 (Fig. 42). Although Marsham's annotation about the producer and dating is not necessarily correct, the selection of these works from temples and private collections suggests the standard of Marsham's taste in artworks in Kyoto. These works have been worshipped, used, and viewed at temples, private residences, and museums, which shaped Japanese art history in Japan. Although the photographed works remained in Japanese collections, the experience of viewing these could have an impact on Marsham's choice or display of his collection for Maidstone. The memory of these arts did

not only belong to the Japanese but could have been carried with the viewer from overseas.

Marsham's photography of key sites for Japanese history also suggests that he had a guide to bridge the world of a visitor and that of locals.



Fig. 42 Annotated by Henry Marsham, 'Wooden figures at Uzumasa temple', album of photography (detail), c. 1906.

Satow records the details of an excursion in Kyoto with Marsham on 20 May 1906:

First to the house of an old worker in metals named Shō-ami, 75 years of age, courtly old gentleman, who gave us excellent tea and showed some of his work, with which I was not greatly taken; after that we went thro[sic] the rooms of a great curio dealer, who has a magnificent house opposite the Awata Goshō [sic], w. of Chi-on-in. In the afternoon first to Hayashi, another dealer who looks after Marsham's pots, where we saw kakemono & gold lacquer, and walked thro[sic] the rooms. Then out into the country N. of Yoshida to a nunnery of the Zen, the Reikanji Monzeki, whose lady abbess Rokujō Tozuzen is of high family and possesses some good pieces of lacquer presented by Tokugawas & mikados. She was not at home, but we were recd. by the lady manageresses, who showed us the treasures, and were very polite. They had the

manner of French sisters of mercy. From there we walked over the hillside among the trees to Nanzenji & so back to the Hotel.⁵⁰⁴

All the places on their trip either secular or sacred, commercial or non-commercial provided them opportunities to view and learn about objects directly.

4.3 Marsham's Kyoto Network

Marsham formed his collection developing relationships with individuals who showed, sold and gifted him their possessions and articles. The following sections introduce the role of his Kyoto network in the creation of his Japanese ceramic collection.

Hayashi Shinsuke: The Kyoto Dealer as a Filter of Choice

Two pages of Marsham's album are adorned with photographs of a married woman, a little girl, a young woman and a man (Fig. 43). The pictures of the girl and the man outlined at the edge in red and blue have annotations: 'Miss Hayashi' and 'Hayashi'.

⁵⁰⁴ Ernest Satow, *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, British Envoy in Peking (1900-06)*, ed. Ian Ruxton, vol. 2 (Morrisville, N.C.: Lulu Press, 2006), 294.



Fig. 43 Annotated by Henry Marsham, Hayashi family, album of photography, c.1906.

A silver-leafed fan painting with a flower design in the background demonstrates the close relationship between the Hayashi family and Marsham. The image of the women on the top left was positioned diagonally and made a rhythm on the page. Marsham's relationship with the photographed individuals produced souvenir artworks. The same album of photography has a photograph of Fujii, who served for the Hayashi family (Fig. 44). Dressed formally in Japanese traditional *kimono* with crest and *hakama*, he stands on a western-style carpet in front of a background paper mimicking an interior of a Western palace.



Fig. 44 Annotated by Henry Marsham, 'Fujii of Hayashi's Kyoto', album of photography (detail), c.1906.

Marsham's hand-written catalogues of his collection do not always mention the provenance, but he did note this on the storage boxes for his collection. For example, Marsham wrote 'Dohachi sparrow Hayashi' on the back of the lid of the wooden storage box for Nin'ami Dōhachi's incense container (Fig. 45). Marsham's writing in pen flows along the grain of wood above the celebrated potter's signature in ink using a brush (Fig. 46, Fig. 47).



Fig. 45 Nin'ami Dōhachi, Incense container in shape of sparrow, nineteenth century, Marsham collection.

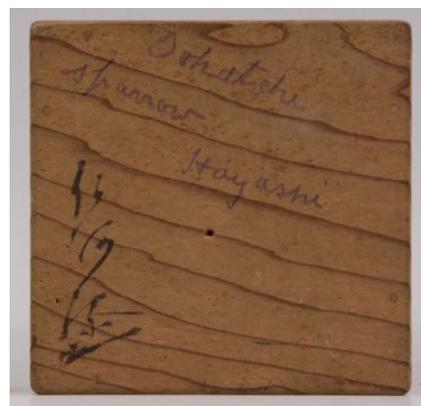


Fig. 46 Inscribed by Nin'ami Dōhachi, lid of the box (front) for the incense container.
Fig. 47 Annotated by Henry Marsham, lid of the box (back).

For another work from Hayashi, a tea bowl with the design of a raccoon dog (Fig. 48), he avoided writing on the lid of its box and instead wrote on the backside of the boxes probably in order not to disturb the original writing (Fig. 49, Fig. 50).



Fig. 48 Tea bowl with design of raccoon dog, nineteenth century, Marsham collection.

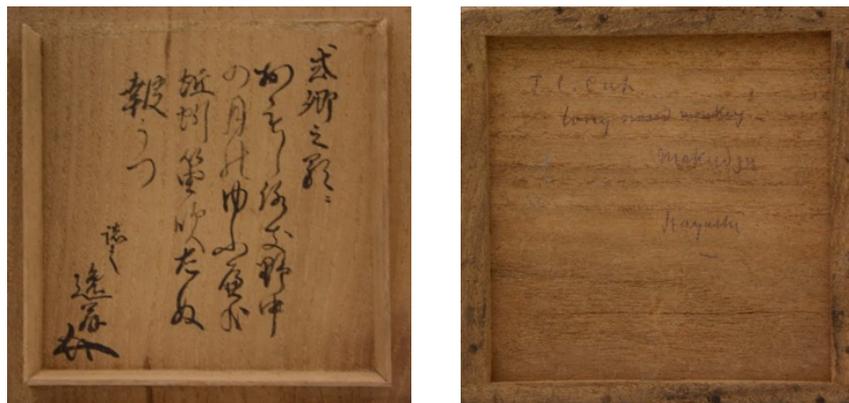


Fig. 49 Itsuō, poem on the lid of the box for above.

Fig. 50 Henry Marsham, 'T.C. Cup long nosed monkey Makudzu Hayashi', annotation on the lid.

There are bills and envelopes from 'S. Hayashi' in the Maidstone Museum, which bear the address of the dealer who was based at 39 Furumonzen, Kyoto.⁵⁰⁵ The advertisement of a dealer with the same address in the guide to the Kyoto Industrial Exhibition in 1895 has its name in Japanese and English (Fig. 51). This confirms that S. Hayashi was Hayashi Shinsuke IV 林新助, the established dealer well known among both Japanese and foreign collectors.⁵⁰⁶



Fig. 51 Advertisement of S. Hayashi, 1895.

⁵⁰⁵ For example, Bill from S. Hayashi to Henry Marsham, 23 August 1905, Maidstone Museum. See Appendix, Transcript 19.

⁵⁰⁶ There is another Hayashi with the same initial at Furumonzen: Hayashi Shinbei 林新兵衛, a relative of Hayashi Shinsuke. Kyōto-shi Hensanbu 京都市編纂部ed., *Keika Yōshi* 京華要誌, vol. 1, 2 vols (Kyoto: Kyoto-shi Sanjikai 京都市参事會, 1895), 182.

Perhaps due to the famous dealer with the same surname, Hayashi Tadamasa, Hayashi Shinsuke's activity has received inadequate attention. In 1890, Hayashi Shinsuke IV took over the dealership from the legendary Hayashi Shinsuke III, who preserved and sold antiques as well as promoted contemporary works for the foreign market. Hayashi Shinsuke III protected important antiques in the Japanese art market during the chaotic transitional period from the end of Edo to Meiji when few people cared about arts and crafts, and gold pigments and metals were valued more than the original works adorning them.⁵⁰⁷

Acknowledging the possibility of a foreign market, he traded Japanese works in Kyoto and overseas. Hayashi secured jobs for contemporary artisans who suffered from the lack of domestic demand by placing orders from them for articles for foreign customers.⁵⁰⁸

Contracting with Au Bon Marché, the earliest department store in the world in Meiji 3 (1872), Hayashi Shinsuke III expanded his business partners in Europe and the U.S.⁵⁰⁹ In France, Philippe Burty kept an advertisement of Hayashi Shinsuke among other Japanese dealers' contact cards (Fig. 52).

In 1886, Hayashi Shinsuke III jointly founded Bikō Shōsha 美工商社 (Art and Crafts Trading Company) in Makuzugahara, Kyoto with Kinkōzan Sōbei 錦光宗兵衛, Inoue Tokusaburō 井上徳三郎, Tanaka Rishichi 田中利七, Ikeda Sōbei 池田宗兵衛 in Kobe, and Yamanaka Kichibei 山中吉兵衛 in Osaka.⁵¹⁰ They sold contemporary metalwork, ceramics,

⁵⁰⁷ Kyoto Bōeki Kyōkai 京都貿易協会, *Meiji ikō Kyoto bōekishi* 明治以降京都貿易史 (Kyoto: Kyoto Bōeki Kyōkai 京都貿易協会, 1963), 75.

⁵⁰⁸ Kyoto Bōeki Kyōkai, 75.

⁵⁰⁹ Kyoto Bōeki Kyōkai, 75.

⁵¹⁰ Kyoto Bōeki Kyōkai, 64.

lacquerware, textile, and antiques to foreign tourists in Kyoto in reaction to their demand for rare works and masterpieces.⁵¹¹



Fig. 52 Contact card of Hayashi Shinsuke, c.1860–80s.

Hayashi Shinsuke IV followed the success and strategy of his predecessor, balancing selling both contemporary works and antiques. In the guide for the Kyoto Exhibition in 1895, the quality of Hayashi's articles is acknowledged by Captain Frank Brinkley (1841–1912), the Irish journalist, former *yatoi*, and important collector of Japanese and Chinese art: 'Kyoto, though it possesses an immense number of small shops where "very old curios" are deal in, has only three important stores, namely, these of Ikeda, Hayashi, and Yamanaka'.⁵¹²

Hayashi was one of the Kyoto dealers close to Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908), the most important historian of East Asian art in the Meiji era. On 15 August 1896, Hayashi visited

⁵¹¹ Kyoto Bōeki Kyōkai, 64.

⁵¹² F. Brinkley, *The Kyoto Industrial Exhibition of 1895: Held in Celebration of the Eleven Hundredth Anniversary of the City's Existence*. Written at the Request of the Kyoto City Government (Printed at the 'Japan mail' office, 1895), 119.

Ernest and his wife with a Japanese dealer Matsuki Bunkyō 松本文恭 (1867–1940).⁵¹³ On the 14th of October of the same year, Fenollosa purchased a set of five Imari bowls as a ‘souvenir’ at Hayashi’s auction.⁵¹⁴ Along with other dealers including Yamanaka who guided the Fenollosas to important temples and individuals, Hayashi was part of the couple’s social network in which art dealers played important roles to provide exclusive access to artworks and sites.⁵¹⁵

When Marsham met Hayashi at the beginning of the twentieth century, Hayashi had maintained his shop’s good reputation internationally. Lord Redesdale, who accompanied Prince Arthur Connaught for the Garter Mission to Japan in 1906 praises Hayashi as follows:

It is the fashion to say that there are no fine specimens of the old Japanese arts left for sale. That is really not the case. I went today to a famous shop kept by one Hayashi, who has a fine collection of genuine old things, mixed up, of course, with a great deal of tourists’ rubbish. His prices, considering the merits of his wares, seemed not excessive.⁵¹⁶

Two signboards of S. Hayashi at Kyoto National Museum show what Hayashi sold to foreign customers in eye-catching ways in the form of lacquerware with *maki-e* and silver inlay, respectively (Figs. 53, 54).⁵¹⁷

⁵¹³ Mary McNeil Fenollosa, *Fenollosa fujin no Nihon nikki: sekai isshū Kyōto eno hanemūn, senhappyakukyūjūrokunen* フェノロサ夫人の日本日記: 世界1周京都へのハネムーン 1896年, trans. Murakata Akiko 村形明子, *Hito to bunka no tankyū 人と文化の探究 4* (Kyoto: Mineruva Shobō ミネルヴァ書房, 2008), 107.

⁵¹⁴ Fenollosa, *Fenollosa fujin no Nihon nikki*, 217

⁵¹⁵ Guth, *Art, Tea, and Industry*, 113. Guth points out that Ernest Fenollosa’s dependence on Japanese connoisseurs and dealers. Ernest F. Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1921), xxviii. Fenollosa mentions his wide network in the Japanese art world to be ‘acquainted with all dealers in and knew their stocks’. However, he rather evaluates the contribution of traditional Japanese artists as source of information.

⁵¹⁶ Lord Redesdale, *The Garter Mission to Japan* (London: Macmillan and Co., limited, 1906), 182–3. He was the informant about the Banko teapot for Franks’s first edition of his catalogue (1876). See Chapters 1–3.

⁵¹⁷ Kyoto National Museum acquired these two panels and showed at the exhibition of newly acquired works in 2018.



Fig. 53 Signboard of S. Hayashi, lacquerware with maki-e, nineteenth century, Kyoto National Museum.



Fig. 54 Signboard of S. Hayashi's Factory of Gold Lacquerware, nineteenth century, Kyoto National Museum.

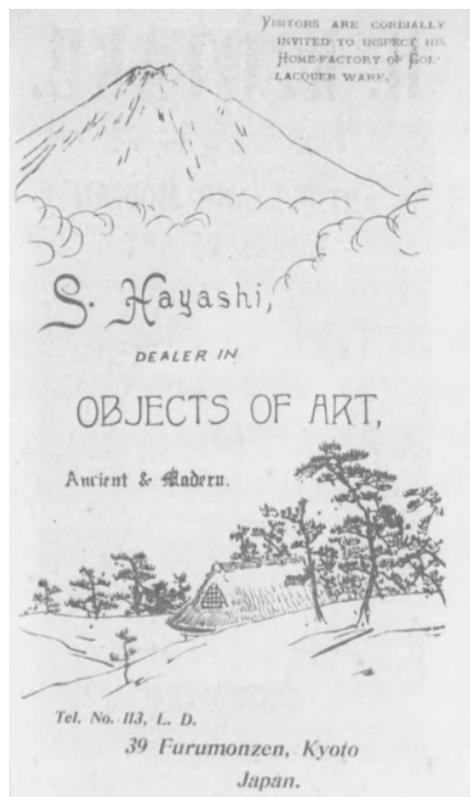


Fig. 55 Advertisement of S. Hayashi, 1907.

Marsham could have seen these panels when he visited Hayashi. Despite the traditional techniques of decorating the signboards, there are also profound visual impacts evident from published adverts in the wordings, fonts, and the use of dividing lines. The soft calligraphic S. Hayashi name in the rectangular panel shows a similarity to that in *Useful Notes and Itineraries for Travelling in Japan* (1907), which was published a year later than Marsham's

intensive collecting period (Fig. 55). The layout of information in oblong is also typical for advertisement sections for guidebooks in the nineteenth to twentieth centuries, which typically printed two adverts together on a single page vertically. These visual proximities of the signboards and adverts illustrate how Hayashi's merchandise targeted foreign travellers in Japan.

Hayashi contributed to forming Japanese and Chinese art collections overseas. For example, Charles Freer (1854–1919), Marsham's contemporary American collector of Asian art purchased Japanese and Chinese art from 'S. Hayashi' including a set of *shikishi* (square papers) with poem and painting, a fan painting with a poem by Ogata Kenzan as well as a Chinese Jian ware and a bronze (Fig. 56, Fig. 57).



Fig. 56 Ogata Kenzan, Fan, early eighteenth century, purchased by Charles Lang Freer from S. Hayashi in 1911, Freer Gallery of Art.

Fig. 57 Tea bowl, Jin ware, twelfth century, purchased by Freer from S. Hayashi in 1909, Freer Gallery of Art.

By the 1900s, the Japanese art market grew, and Hayashi dealt in important Japanese and Chinese works of art. The dealer had been an active auctioneer until World War II. Although the number of auctions soared from the Taishō era, while Marsham stayed in Kyoto, Hayashi had a few auctions which attracted the local newspaper's attention. On 12 March 1906, Hayashi and another dealer Takada Shinsuke 高田新助 auctioned calligraphy, paintings, screens and utensils from the Yasuda, Umehara and Shinohara families at the Hirano family's

house in Maruyama.⁵¹⁸ Furthermore, Hayashi was involved in policymaking and the management of art-related activities in Kyoto. In 1906, he was elected as a council member for the Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai (Kyoto Society of Art).⁵¹⁹ He was one of seven committee members in charge of organising *Shin-ko Bijutsu Tenrankai* (*the New and Old Art Exhibition*) of 1907.⁵²⁰

Marsham's Purchases from Hayashi: Shifting Taste

In time, Marsham's taste in collecting shifted from a variety of Japanese objects to a concentration on ceramics. On 23 August 1905, Hayashi sent an invoice to Marsham for the sum of 638.5 yen, equivalent to 2,357,196 yen today, in which a porcelain vase was the most expensive article with 60 yen.⁵²¹ The 36 entries for Japanese works are composed of various materials including sets of 10 netsuke, 12 cloisonné rings, lacquerware, and bronze, corresponding to the dealer's major repertoire of articles for sale noted in guidebooks and directories. It is unknown if Marsham bought all the listed works because he annotates his initial 'HM' only next to three entries of a gold hair pin and two cloisonné works on the second page of the invoice (Fig. 58).⁵²² However, it is reasonable to assume that this list of objects reflects his preference in Japanese art of the time.

⁵¹⁸ 'Shoga kottō no nyūsatsu 書画骨董の入札', *Kyoto Hinode Shumbun* 京都日出新聞 (KHS), 12 March 1906, 5.

⁵¹⁹ 'Bijutsu Kyōkai hyōgiin shokutaku 美術協会評議員囑託', *KHS*, 11 July 1906, 2.

⁵²⁰ 'Shin-ko Bijutsu Tenrankai kaisai 新古美術展覧会開催', *KHS*, 27 October 1907, 1.

⁵²¹ Invoice from S. Hayashi to Marsham, 23 August 1905, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum. See Appendix B, Transcript 19. The conversion rate from the year 1905 to 2017 is based on Consumer Price Index.

⁵²² *Ibid.*

Hayashi's next invoice from 31 July 1906 reveals that Marsham purchased seven cases of 'curios' at 5,000 yen, equivalent to 18,096,891 yen in 2017 (Fig. 59).⁵²³ Considering the day wage of a day labourer was 0.43 yen in 1905, his expenditure was not insignificant.⁵²⁴ Marsham's wealth from his business and inheritance from his father enabled him to acquire such a high number of objects in just a year. However, this price might not necessarily indicate the total price for objects but it might include the cost of keeping the valuables at Hayashi's shop, for Ernest Satow described Hayashi as a 'dealer who looks after Marsham's pots'.⁵²⁵ Or Hayashi might have sold his articles to the collector as well as purchased from other dealers and this was included within the cost of 5,000 yen.

S. HAYASHI
DEALER IN
OBJECTS OF ART.
TEL. NO. 112 B. B.
40 FUJIKAWA, KYOTO,
JAPAN.
SHIMIZU BROS.
HAYASHI, KYOTO.

Kyoto, August 23rd 1905

Hon. Mr. Henry Marsham,
Weaving House,
Maidstone, England.

No. 1. Case.

1	Flower Vase	White Jade	15
1	Tray	Bamboo work	20
2	Cups	Porcelain	10
1	Incense Box	Lacquered	20
1	"	Porcelain	10
1	Flower Vase	Porcelain	60
1	Cake Box	Covered with lacquer	40
1	Figure	Wooden	5
1	Cigarettes Box	Lacquered	4
1	Sake Cup	"	2.50
1	Incense Box	"	20
1	"	Wooden	15
1	Box	Silk Work	5
1	Suff Bottle	Glass Ware	3
2	Knives	"	15
1	Incense Box	Wooden	10
1	"	Shenid with under of pearl	5
1	Tea Kettle	Lacquered	5
1	Bell	Bronze	5
1	Basket	Bamboo	3
4	Scissors	Sword-guard Iron & Silver	55
1	Knif-handle	Shidachi	10
1	Chain	Jewels Work	15
2	Shals	Bronze	5
			Car id 363.50

S. HAYASHI
DEALER IN
OBJECTS OF ART.
TEL. NO. 112 B. B.
40 FUJIKAWA, KYOTO,
JAPAN.
SHIMIZU BROS.
HAYASHI, KYOTO.

Kyoto, July, 31st, 1906.

Honorable Henry Marsham,
c/o The Curator
The Museum
Maidstone, England.

No.

List of contents for Seven ^{21/7} cases of
curios
Case #1/c,
371 pieces of Porcelain & Earthen ware
Case #2,
2 Ivory carvings
0 pieces of Wooden work
1 Porcelain Bowl
4 Paintings
22 pieces of Bronze wares
3 Glass Cups
2 Dolls

Yen 5000.00

S. Hayashi

Fig. 58 S. Hayashi, Invoice for Henry Marsham, 23 August 1905.

Fig. 59 S. Hayashi, Invoice for Henry Marsham, 31 July 1906.

⁵²³ Invoice from S. Hayashi to Henry Marsham, 31 July 1906, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum. See Appendix B, Transcript 20. The case was 95-cubic feet for each. Measurement for the seven cases, u.d., Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum.

⁵²⁴ Kyoto Bōeki Kyōkai, *Meiji ikō Kyoto bōekishi*, 147.

⁵²⁵ Satow, *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, British Envoy in Peking (1900–06)*, vol.2, 294.

Importantly, in this 1906 purchase, the main pieces were ceramics, which correspond to the series of consignments in Marsham's handwritten list of his ceramic collection.⁵²⁶ Six cases contained '371 pieces of porcelain & earthenware' while the last case had different types of objects: '2 ivory carvings, 9 wooden works, 1 porcelain bowl, 4 paintings, 22 pieces of bronze works, 3 glass cups' and '2 dolls'. His shift in taste from lacquerware to ceramics was also recorded by a local newspaper in July 1906 when his cousin Admiral Moore (1847–1934) visited him in Kyoto:

The relative of the Admiral is a British noble who has a taste in lacquerware. However, recently he enthusiastically researches the evolution of Japanese ceramics by collecting works from each age and sort. He has already collected over 800 types.⁵²⁷

Marsham's purchase corresponds to the types of works that Hayashi had a good reputation for in Japan. According to *Kottōya hyōban ki (Reputation of Antique Dealers)* of 1917, Hayashi Shinsuke IV was reputed for antique utensils, teaware and ceramics.⁵²⁸ He had important Japanese collectors as his customers such as Inoue Kaoru (1835–1915), Minister of Foreign Affairs who promoted Westernisation of Meiji Japan and Fujita Denzaburō 藤田傳三郎 (1841–1912), industrialist and tea aficionado, whose collection is housed in the Fujita Museum, Osaka.⁵²⁹ Mayuyama Matsutarō 繭山松太郎 (1882–1935), the founder of Mayuyama Ryūsendō, the famous international dealer of Asian art still in business today, had

⁵²⁶ Henry Marsham, first consignment list of the Marsham collection, 18 February 1906; second consignment list of the collection, 16 June 1906, third-sixth consignment lists, 1906–8, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum.

⁵²⁷ 'Mūa teitoku nyūrakusu ムーア提督入洛す', *KHS*, 1 July 1906, 2. Translated by Author. '因に中将の親族なる右のマーシャム氏は英国の貴族にして漆器に対し嗜好を有せるも近頃は専ら日本陶器の進化系統を査究せんとして熱心に各時代各種の陶器を求め既に蒐集したるもの八百有余種に及べる由なり'.

⁵²⁸ 'Kottōya hyōbanki 骨董屋評判記', 2, 1917, in *Tōkyō Bijutsu Kurabu Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai 東京美術倶楽部百年史編纂委員会, Bijutsushō no hyakunen: Tokyo Bijutsu Kurabu hyakunenshi 美術商の百年: 東京美術倶楽部百年史 [100 year History of Japanese Art Dealer from 1907 to 2006]* (Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu Kurabu and Tōkyō Bijutsushō Kyōdō Kumiai 東京美術倶楽部・東京美術商協同組合, 2006), 226.

⁵²⁹ 'Kottōya hyōbanki', 226.

dealings with Hayashi Shinsuke IV at the end of the Meiji era.⁵³⁰ According to the memoir of Mayuyama Junkichi 繭山順吉 (1913–1999), the son of Matsutarō, Hayashi Shinsuke treasured an incense burner in the form of a female peacock.⁵³¹ Junkichi purchased the peacock from a descendent of Hayashi and sold it to a private collector.⁵³² The work by Nonomura Ninsei, a master potter in the seventeenth century was designated as Important Cultural Property in 1965, which is now in the collection of Ishikawa Prefectural Museum of Art.⁵³³

Although Hayashi assisted Marsham's intensive collecting of Japanese ceramics by 1906, the dealer's signboards in English do not carry the word 'ceramics'. It was, in fact, categorised as 'crockeries', listed as the third area of his strength as a dealer (Fig. 54). 'Crockery' was a commonly used term for tableware regardless of the age, material, origin of the products.⁵³⁴ The category of 'crockeries' must have derived from S. Hayashi's original identity as a dealer of *chū-dōgu* (middle utensils). According to Yamamoto Masako, the term *chū-dōgu* was born in the Meiji era when utensils for meals and interior were widely sold in the market.⁵³⁵ *Chū-dōgu*, distinct from *cha-dōgu* (tea utensils) and antiques, covers a wide range of daily utensils

⁵³⁰ Mayuyama Junkichi 繭山順吉, *Bijutsushō no yorokobi* 美術商のよろこび [The Joys of an Art Dealer] (Tokyo: Mayuyama Junkichi 繭山順吉, 1988), 54.

⁵³¹ Mayuyama, 54.

⁵³² Mayuyama, 54.

⁵³³ Nonomura Ninsei, Incense burner in the form of female peacock, stoneware with overglaze polychrome enamels, silver and gold, Height: 16.4 cm, Length: 37.5 cm, Ishikawa Prefectural Museum of Art, Kanazawa, 01046700, Important Cultural Property. Agency for Cultural Affairs, 'Iroe mesu kiji kōro (Ninsei saku) 色絵雌雉香炉 (仁清作)', Cultural Heritage Online, accessed 26 February 2021, <https://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/210189>. The female peacock said to be descended to Yokoyama family, served for Maeda domain is exhibited with her male counterpart at the Museum.

⁵³⁴ E. Richard McKinstry, *Trade Catalogues at Winterthur: A Guide to the Literature of Merchandising, 1750 to 1980* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1984), 58.

⁵³⁵ Yamamoto, *Karamonoya kara bijutsushō e*, 100. Hirota Fukkosai 広田不孤齋, *Kottō uraomote* 骨董裏おもて (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会, 2007), 7, 9.

from paintings in scroll and screen formats, *urushi* boxes, ceramic dishes and vases, to wooden shelves and desks.⁵³⁶ On the other hand, Brinkley, who spoke highly of Hayashi and Yamanaka's shops in the mid-1890s placed the shops in the category of 'bric à brac stores' of 'curios' which summarises the diversity and the range of articles which they dealt (Fig. 60).⁵³⁷



Fig. 60 Advertisement of K. Yamanaka, 1895.

Chamberlain and Mason's *Handbook for Travellers in Japan* (1899) also lists Ikeda, Hayashi, Yamanaka and others under 'curios shops'.⁵³⁸ Marsham collected Japanese ceramics when the high quality of 'curios' also known as '*chū-dōgu*' were attractive collectables for foreign customers. It was at a time when 'curios' was a common classification for 'exotic' objects and which would have been familiar to the target buyers.

⁵³⁶ Hirota 9, 12. Yamamoto, 100–101. Hirota Fukkosai (Matsushige, 1897–1973), the founder of Kochūkyo, one of the most famous Japanese dealers had his apprenticeship at Kunryūdō, a *chū-dōgu* dealer in Tokyo. He served for the owner who dealt utensils for meals, writing, furniture including Chinese works of art.

⁵³⁷ Brinkley, *The Kyoto Industrial Exhibition of 1895*, 119.

⁵³⁸ Basil Hall Chamberlain and W. B Mason, *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan Including the Whole Empire from Yezo to Formosa*, fifth edition revised and augmented (London: John Murray, 1899).

The word *chū-dōgu* came to be obsolete in Japanese directories for Japanese in the late 1890s.⁵³⁹ By the twentieth century, Hayashi was categorised as a *shin-ko bijutsu-shō* or new and old ‘art’ dealer.⁵⁴⁰ However, although Hayashi no longer claimed that he was a dealer of *chū-dōgu* for the Japanese art market in the 1900s, the variety of utensils for everyday life, the feature of Marsham collection, parallels Hayashi’s strength as the dealer of *chū-dōgu* in the past. In the Kyoto Directory for the year 1907, Hayashi advertised himself as ‘Dealer in Objects of Art, Ancient & Modern’ expanding his specialities including ‘Gold Lacquer Wares, Bronzes, Porcelains, Ivory and Wood, Carvings, Kakemonos, Screens, Chinese Porcelains, Jades and All Description of Japanese Curios’.⁵⁴¹ The word ‘crockeries’ has now disappeared and the concept was substituted by classificatory names in specific materials and forms. However, ending his speciality with ‘curios’ opens his realm to a wide variety of objects and indicates continuing popularity for this type of object among foreign collectors.

The Miyako Hotel, Kyoto

A panoramic view from the Miyako Hotel composed of three pictures in a sequence is positioned in the centre on a two-page spread of Marsham’s travel photography (Fig. 61). This Hotel on Higashiyama hill was opened in 1900. Marsham’s memory of the hotel has been retained in his albums and correspondences featuring a letterhead of the hotel (Fig. 64). He must have loved the view, which has changed after a century (Fig. 62). However, the hotel’s guidebook, from the early twentieth century until now, has promoted the scenery as the highlight of staying at the hotel (Fig. 63). The picturesque view from the hotel, as well as the art and nature in the hotel, presented the guests with an experience of living with art. The

⁵³⁹ Yamamoto, *Karamonoya kara bijutsushō e*, 100–101.

⁵⁴⁰ Yamamoto, 100.

⁵⁴¹ Japan Gazette, *Japan Directory* (Yokohama: Japan Gazette, 1907), 301.

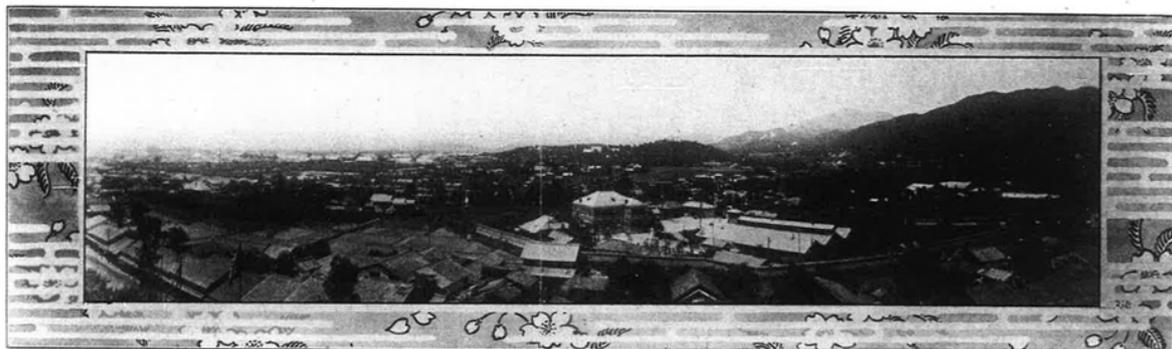
research for this thesis has revealed that the hotel was a participant in the creation of Marsham's collection and part of the holistic memory of the collector's stay in Kyoto, performing as a guide and a crossing point with locals.



Fig. 61 Annotated by Henry Marsham, 'View from Miyako Hotel', album of travel photography (detail), c.1906.



Fig. 62 View from the Miyako Hotel. By Author.



VIEW FROM HOTEL.

Fig. 63 'View from Hotel', in Nishimura Nihei ed, *Miyako Hotel Guide to Kyoto and the Surrounding Districts*, 1906.

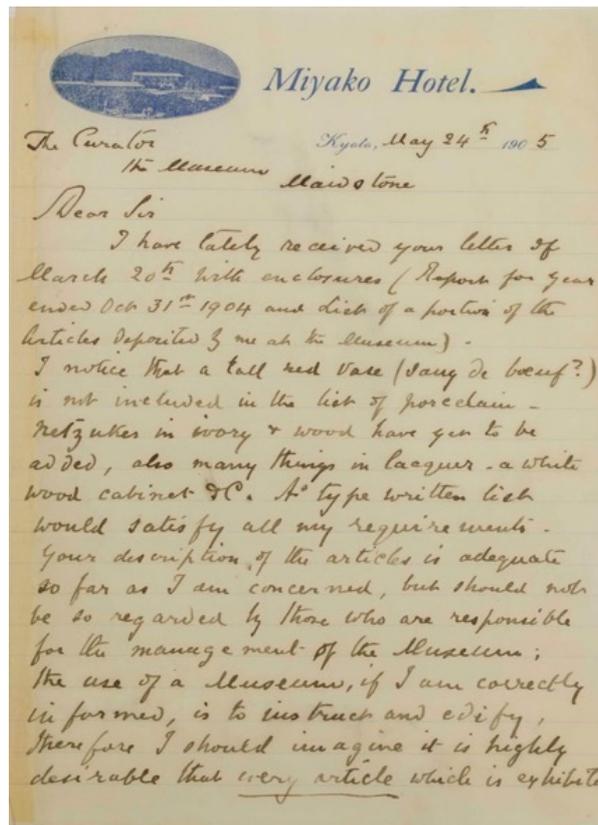


Fig. 64 Miyako Hotel's letter paper, sent from Henry Marsham to J. H. Allchin, 24 May 1905.

The Miyako Hotel's institutional biography, *Miyako hoteru 100 nen shi* (100 years of the Miyako Hotel) (1989) lists Marsham in its distinguished guest list on the 14th May 1906.⁵⁴² He was the only guest mentioned for the year of 1906 other than Prince Arthur Connaught (1883–1938), Count Kuroki Tamemoto 黒木為楨 (1844–1923), and Admiral Tōgō Heihachirō 東郷平八郎 (1848–1934).⁵⁴³ Attended by the two Japanese naval officers who contributed to the victory of the Russo-Japanese war, the Prince planted a tree to commemorate his stay and the Anglo-Japanese alliance, which became a part of Kyoto's collective memory (Fig. 65). The Maidstone Museum has a photograph of Tōgō in

⁵⁴² Miyako Hotel 都ホテル, *Miyako Hoteru 100 nenshi* 都ホテル100年史 (Kyoto: Miyako Hotel 都ホテル, 1989), 303.

⁵⁴³ Miyako Hotel, 303.

Marsham's archive, which suggests that Marsham might have had some interaction with the Japanese officers (Fig. 66).

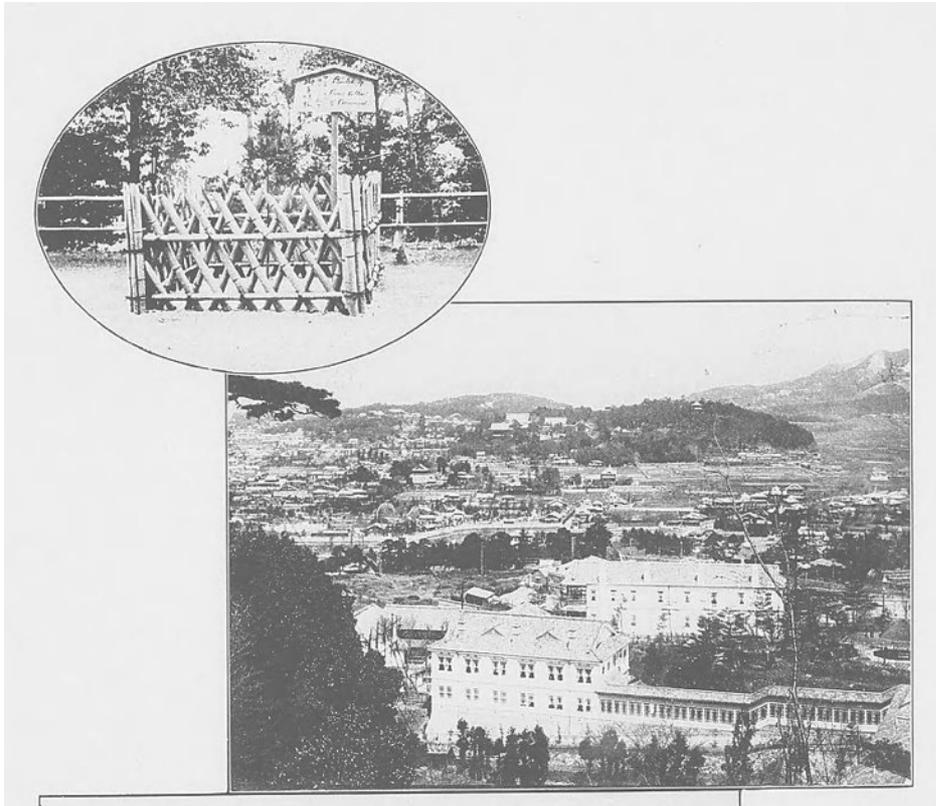


Fig. 65 Miyako Hotel and a pine tree planted by the Prince Arthur Connaught, *Kyoto-fu shashinchō*, 1908.



Fig. 66 Annotated by Henry Marsham, 'Admiral Togo showing both hands', photograph, c.1904–1905.

The hotel played the role of a personal and informative guide to Kyoto for Marsham. Bernard Thomson, an Englishman and a former correspondent of the *Kobe Herald*, served as a secretary for the guests at the Information Bureau.⁵⁴⁴ Hamaguchi Morisuke, the manager of the hotel performed his customer care based on his work experience at hotels in Hakone and Nikko.⁵⁴⁵ By the time of Marsham's collecting, the Japanese support system for foreign tourists had been developed.⁵⁴⁶ Kaiyūsha, an agency of guides and interpreters was founded in 1879.⁵⁴⁷ The quality of guides was maintained by Kihin-kai or the Welcome Society of Japan, the first organisation for foreign tourists founded in 1882.⁵⁴⁸ Guests at the Miyako Hotel brought their interpreters from Kobe or Yokohama ports or directly hired them at the hotel.⁵⁴⁹

Marsham's Japanese guide, S. Hirooka, contributed to his collecting by working between the hotel, dealers, and the collector. At the beginning of July 1906, Marsham's cousin Admiral

⁵⁴⁴ Nishimura Nihei ed., *Miyako Hotel Guide to Kyoto and the Surrounding Districts*, Second ed (Kyoto: Nishimura Nihei, 1906), 11.

⁵⁴⁵ Miyako Hotel, Miyako Hosteru 100 nenshi, 16.

⁵⁴⁶ For the hotel's position in Meiji Kyoto's tourism and its relation to collecting, see Ai Fukunaga, 'Tourism and Collecting in Kyoto: The Miyako Hotel as an Agent in the Creation of the Hon. Henry Marsham Collection of Japanese Art, Maidstone Museum, Kent', *Journal for Art Market Studies* Vol 2 (5 September 2018): No 3 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.23690/jams.v2i3.66>.

⁵⁴⁷ Maruyama Hiroshi 丸山宏, 'Kindai tsūrizumu no reimei: "Naichi ryokō" wo megutte 近代ツーリズムの黎明—「内地旅行」をめぐって—', in *Jūkyū seiki Nihon no jōhō to shakai hendō* 一九世紀日本の情報と社会変動, ed. Yoshida Mitsukuni 吉田光邦 (Kyoto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo 京都大学人文科学研究所, 1985), 111.

⁵⁴⁸ Shirahata Yōzaburō 白幡洋三郎, 'Ijin to gaikyaku: gaikyaku yūchi dantai "Kihinkai" no katsudō ni suite 異人と外客: 外客誘致団体「喜賓会」の活動について', in *Jūkyū seiki Nihon no jōhō to shakai hendō* 一九世紀日本の情報と社会変動, ed. Yoshida Mitsukuni 吉田光邦 (Kyoto: Kyōto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo 京都大学人文科学研究所, 1985), 125–6.

⁵⁴⁹ Miyako Hotel, 17. The Hotel rate of hiring interpreters for one to two guests were 2.5–3 yen per day.

Moore from Kent visited him privately. Guided by Hirooka, they explored the Imperial Palace, Ōmiya Palace (a palace used for the empress dowager in the Edo period), Nijō Detached Palace, and appreciated the garden of the Reikanji temple.⁵⁵⁰ Moore bought a few Awata wares at a shop called Kin'un dō at Sanjō Shirakawabashi, and they also visited Hayashi's shop.⁵⁵¹

In Marsham's album, there is S. Hirooka's photograph of schoolgirls passing by Awata Imperial Palace (Fig. 67). Marsham also records that 'Hirooka Seikichi of Osaka' gifted an Awata sake bottle in gourd shape to Marsham to be donated to the Maidstone Museum.⁵⁵² This implies that the guide himself was interested in the creation of Marsham's collection of Japanese ceramics. Marsham's sister Anne Marsham expressed her gratitude for Hirooka's cooperation in her brother's collecting in her letter to the curator at the Maidstone Museum of 1 March 1909.⁵⁵³ Although the details about Hirooka remain unknown, his contribution should be remembered along with the collector (Fig. 68).

⁵⁵⁰ 'Mūa teitoku ムーア提督', *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* 大阪毎日新聞, 2 July 1906, 4. 'Mūa teitoku ムーア提督', *KHS*, 2 July 1906.

⁵⁵¹ 'Mūa teitoku ムーア提督', *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun*, 1 July 1906, 7.

⁵⁵² Henry Marsham, third consignment list of the Marsham collection, 1906–7, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum.

⁵⁵³ Letter from Anne Marsham to J. H. Allchin, 1 March 1909, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum. See Appendix B, Transcript 21.



Fig. 67 S. Hirooka, annotated by Henry Marsham, 'School girls passing Awata Goshho, Kyoto, 1905', album of photography (detail), 1905.



Fig. 68 Henry Marsham (centre) and Hirooka (second from right) in Group photograph at Daigoji temple, Kyoto, album of photography (detail), c.1906.

The Miyako Hotel also functioned as a travel guide publisher. It is well known that foreign Japanese art collectors travelled in Japan with English guidebooks such as *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Japan*.⁵⁵⁴ Following predecessors, the hotel's guidebooks published in the early 1900s provided its guests with highlights of places and seasons as well as practical information specifically for Kyoto and surrounding districts, which satisfied the needs of the guests.⁵⁵⁵ Stimulating guests' desire to buy artworks, the last section of the guidebooks is dedicated to the shops that are 'among the best known and are recommended by the Hotel'.⁵⁵⁶ The very first shop listed was S. Hayashi, followed by S. Ikeda & Co., B. Kawamura, T. Kita, Shikishima & Co., and Yamanaka. All of them were categorised as dealers in 'Curios'.⁵⁵⁷ The appearance of Hayashi Shinsuke's shop at the very beginning of the list suggests a close relationship between the hotel and the dealer.

Furthermore, the hotel worked as promotional space for works of art. Opposite to the drawing room with a piano and literature, visitors would find two show rooms where merchants in the city displayed their articles.⁵⁵⁸ In the Meiji era, dealers were freely able to visit guests at their hotels. Josef Kořenský, an East Bohemian (today's Czech Republic) traveller who stayed at the Yaami Hotel, Kyoto wrote that many merchants in Japanese swords, ceramics, and textiles did not leave his hotel until the guests bought their articles.⁵⁵⁹ Besides the strong

⁵⁵⁴ For example, American collector Charles Freer travelled in Japan according to the recommended itinerary of Murray's guidebook. Thomas Lawton and Linda Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy of Art* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 63.

⁵⁵⁵ Nishimura, *Miyako Hotel Guide*, 2nd ed. Nishimura Nihei, ed., *Miyako Hotel Guide to Kyoto and the Surrounding Districts*, 3rd ed. (Kyoto: Nishimura Nihei, 1908). The third edition of the guide even includes a recommended plan for 10 days sightseeing in Kyoto.

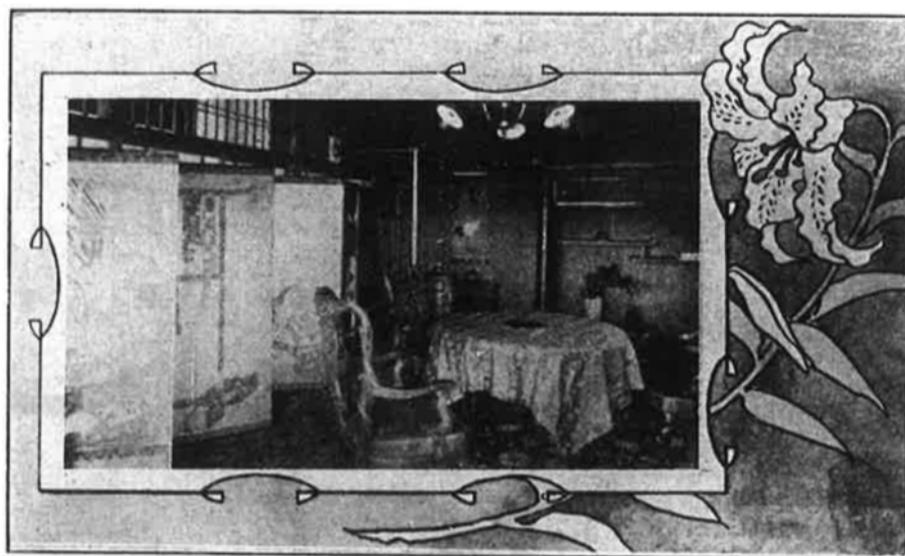
⁵⁵⁶ Nishimura, *Miyako Hotel Guide*, 2nd ed., 156–160. Nishimura, *Miyako Hotel Guide*, 3rd ed., 128–132.

⁵⁵⁷ Nishimura, *Miyako Hotel Guide*, 2nd ed., 156–7.

⁵⁵⁸ Nishimura, *Miyako Hotel Guide*, 2nd ed., 7.

⁵⁵⁹ Josef Kořenský, *Meiji no Japansuko: Bohemia kyōiku sōkan no Nihon kansatsuki* 明治のジャポンスコ: ボヘミア教育総監の日本観察記, trans. Suzuki Fumihiko

connections between the Miyako Hotel and dealers, the interior of the hotel also provided the guests with an environment in which to live with arts. Although the hotel was designed as Western-style architecture, the reception room in 1906 was decorated with a Japanese screen, a hanging scroll, and a shelf with vessels (Fig. 69).



A RECEPTION ROOM.

Fig. 69 Reception room, Miyako Hotel, Kyoto, 1906.

The Miyako Hotel placed Marsham very close to Japanese objects. His collection was not only made by purchases but also by gift-giving from locals. In August 1905, Nishimura Nihei VII 西村仁兵衛, the owner of the hotel gifted Marsham an inro, which he explains that the lord of Yatsushiro clan in Higo province gave to the fourth generation of his family (Fig. 70). As Nishimura gifted Marsham with an object from his family's collection, the hotel functioned as a place for the collector and locals to interact. The location of the hotel is also inseparable from Marsham's intensive collecting of Awata ware. The Awata region where the hotel stands was one of the two main ceramic production sites of Kyoto ware along with Kiyomizu. Marsham became fond of Awata ware, especially Iwakurasan ware, while residing

鈴木文彦 (Tokyo: Saimaru Shuppankai サイマル出版会, 1985), 209. This is a Japanese translation of Josef Kořenský, *Žaponsko* (Praha: J. Otto, 1895).

in Kyoto. The interaction with Awata potters was a highlight of Marsham's memory of Kyoto as the next section will demonstrate.

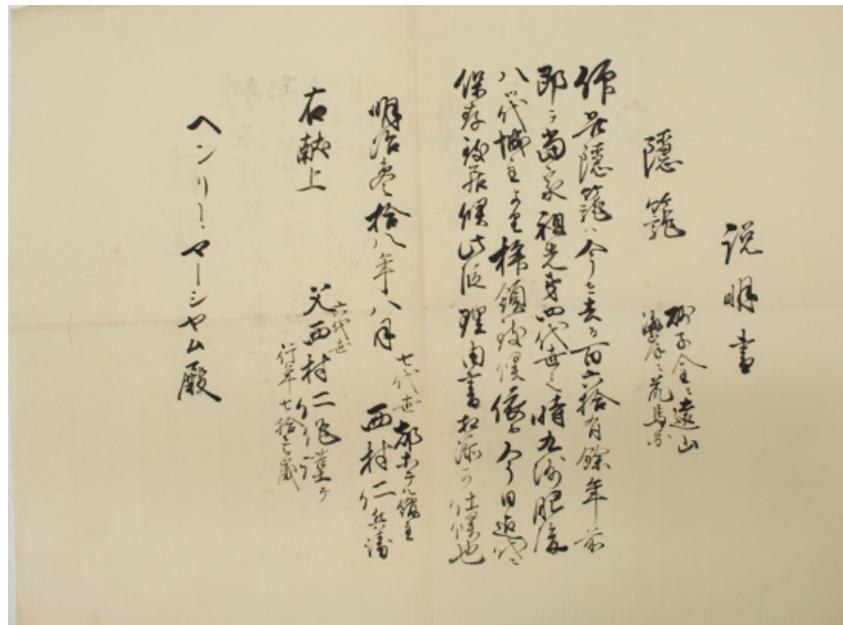


Fig. 70 Nishimura Nihei, Explanation of an intro gifted to Marsham, August 190.

Hōzan Shōhei

The Hōzan family is the oldest continuing family of potters in the Awata area. As if demonstrating Marsham's goal for his collection to illustrate diverse ceramics, works from the Hōzan kiln in the Marsham collection shows various techniques, motifs and forms in the Edo period and Meiji era (Figs. 71, 72).



Fig. 71 Hōzan kiln, Dish in shape of gourd with design of leaves, eighteenth-nineteenth centuries, Marsham collection.



Fig. 72 Hōzan kiln, Brazier with design of Chinese figures under willows, nineteenth century, Marsham collection.

Hōzan Shōhei's works, created in 1908, three of which are in Marsham's collection, show that the kiln continued to produce the style in the Meiji era. For Marsham, Hōzan Shōhei 宝山昌平 (1848–1937) created a teapot for steeped tea and two tea jars for whipped tea from the clay of the Miyako Hotel's garden, embedding the hotel into the collected objects (Fig. 73, Fig. 74).⁵⁶⁰ The brown surface of the bodies with particles of sand follows the preference for the Nanban style, inspired by ceramics believed to have been made in South East Asia. Kyoto potters in the later Edo period excelled in this style—including Hōzan (Fig. 75).



Fig. 73, Fig. 74 Hōzan Shōhei, Teapot and tea jar made of clay from the ground of Miyako Hotel's garden, 1908, Marsham collection.



Fig. 75 Teapot, Kyoto ware, nineteenth century, Marsham collection.

⁵⁶⁰ Henry Marsham, Sixth consignment list of Marsham collection, 1908, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum. Fukunaga, 'Tourism and Collecting in Kyoto', 7–8.

Besides the style and material of ceramics, Hōzan's Miyako Hotel ware was created in the same way that lords, nobles, tea masters, and wealthy merchants of the Edo period enjoyed tea utensils made in their gardens. In some cases, they made works by themselves or in other cases they ordered potters to make objects for them (Fig. 76).⁵⁶¹ Such *oniwa-yaki* demonstrates the Japanese preference for something special and personal, for their utensils to be associated with places. Marsham collection also includes a steeped teacup with an inscription saying that the cup was made of the clay from Yashima battlefield, where the Minamoto and the Taira families fought in 1185 (Fig. 77).⁵⁶²



Fig. 76 Water container with design of crane, pine, and bamboo, nineteenth century, Kairakuen ware, Marsham collection.

⁵⁶¹ Nakano Yasuhiro 中野康裕, 'Oniwa yaki 御庭焼', in *Kadokawa Nihon tōji daijiten*, ed. Yabe Yosihaki (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2002), 233. The production of *oniwa-yaki* also parallels the increasing *kuni-yaki*, country ware, ceramics made in each clan's territory. The variety of Japanese ceramics increased in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries because of clan's policy of developing own industry and preventing the cash flow to other regions. The encouragement of industry connected to the increasing demand for ceramic products as well as the needs to change the agricultural economy to monetary economy of the late Edo period.

⁵⁶² In the footring, marked '以屋嶋古戰場土造之 (Made of clay from Yashima old battlefield)'.



Fig. 77 Cup made of clay from Yashima battlefield, nineteenth century, Marsham collection.

Hōzan's Miyako Hotel wares challenge the usual classification of a souvenir/export ware for a foreigner or a domestic teaware for Japanese use. They are backed by the artist's skill in creating teaware for the Japanese market and the history of making special works with clay with local memory. At the same time, the use of clay from the accommodation for foreign guests is clearly intended to please the British noble tourist. Hōzan must have known about Marsham's growing collection of Japanese ceramics. The objects represent the ambiguous position of tea and teaware in the creative activities of Kyoto potters of the early twentieth century between the domestic products and the self-representation for foreigners. The close relationship between the collector and the hotel suggests that his understanding of the culture and industry in Kyoto relied on the hotel's economic and cultural activities. However, while Marsham's experience was well-packaged by the tourist industry, he developed personal connections with the owner and servants. In the private interactions, the hotel functioned as an unexpected place of trading, gifting, and creating objects of art.

Itō Tōzan: The Awata Potter and Collecting the Past

One of Marsham's albums at the Maidstone Museum is an assemblage of various formats of paintings. Many of them were painted by Itō Tōzan 伊東陶山 (1846–1920). Tōzan in a portrait attached to Marsham's album proudly wears a badge on his chest (Fig. 78). This is likely the Green Ribbon, which the Meiji government awarded him for his philanthropic contribution to the Kyoto ceramic industry in 1899.⁵⁶³ Alongside his photograph, Tōzan included a painting of a charming incense container in the shape of a bird for whipped tea now housed in the Maidstone Museum (Fig. 79). Whether or not this vessel was a gift or a purchase, the carefully composed page for the photograph and painting represents the intimate tie between Tōzan and Marsham. Tōzan survived the Edo and Meiji to Taishō eras with concerted efforts and adaptability to the rapidly changing environment surrounding ceramics as industrial products as well as artworks. On the one hand, he produced ceramics for Western customers when foreign capital was the major source to sustain the Kyoto economy after the Meiji Restoration. On the other hand, he was devoting his techniques to the revival of old Awata ware of the Edo period. It has not been possible to identify specific encounters between Marsham and Tōzan. However, Tōzan's contribution to Marsham's travel albums and the inclusion of Tōzan's works in the Marsham collection suggests their relationship. This section looks at Tōzan's career and collecting, which may have been a resource used by Marsham to interpret the ceramic collection purchased in Japan.

⁵⁶³ Seki Nyorai 関如来, 'Shodai Tōzan shōden 初代伊東陶山小傳', in *Tōzan yokō: Shodai Tōzan shōden* 陶山餘香: 初代陶山小傳, ed. Itō Tōzan II 伊東陶山 (Kyoto: Itō Tōzan 伊東陶山, 1832), no page number.



Fig. 78 Itō Tōzan's portrait and painting of his work, album annotated by Henry Marsham, c.1906.



Fig. 79 Itō Tōzan, Incense container in shape of pigeon, late nineteenth–beginning of twentieth century, Marsham collection.

When Marsham built his friendship with Tōzan, the ceramic artist had led the Kyoto ceramic industry in technological advancement and design innovation, both for export and domestic markets. In *the Official Guide-book to Kyoto and the Allied Prefectures* (1895), Tōzan was listed in the category of ‘celebrated potters’ along with Seifū Yohei 清風與平, Takahashi Dōhachi 高橋道八, Kiyomizu Rokubei 清水六兵衛, Kinkōzan Sōbei 錦光山宗兵衛, Eiraku Wazen 永樂和全, Raku Kichizaemon 樂吉左衛門, and Miura Chikusen 三浦竹泉.⁵⁶⁴ Tōzan received awards at both domestic and international exhibitions. The number of medals and the national honour were used to brand his workshop as his advertisement in 1910 shows (Fig. 80). In 1917 (Taishō 6), his achievements led to his appointment as an Imperial Household Artist (*Teishitsu gigeiin*) in the Imperial patronage system founded in 1890 to preserve and encourage ‘traditional’ Japanese arts.⁵⁶⁵

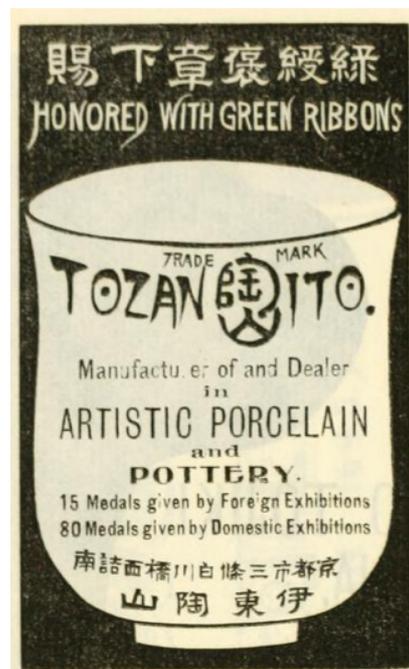


Fig. 80 Itō Tōzan’s advertisement, 1910

⁵⁶⁴ Ichihara, M, ed., *The Official Guide Book to Kyoto and the Allied Prefectures. Prepared Specially for the Eleven Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of Kyoto and the Fourth National Industrial Exhibition by the City Council of Kyoto. With Three Maps and Sixty-Nine Engravings.* (Nara: Meishinsha, 1895), 20.

⁵⁶⁵ Gisela Jahn, *Meiji Ceramics: The Art of Japanese Export Porcelain and Satsuma Ware 1868–1912* (Stuttgart: Arnoldsche, 2004), 40–41.

In 1867 (Keiō 3), the last year of the Edo period, Tōzan opened his shop at Gion. The potter, at the age of 22, hung a shop curtain reading ‘Chawan-ya (Tea bowl Shop)’ at the entrance and sold utensils for tea and *sake*.⁵⁶⁶ One of his paintings in Marsham’s album illustrated different types of tea utensils with a variety of his marks stamped on (Fig. 81).



Fig. 81 Itō Tōzan, Painting of ceramics with marks and seals, album annotated by Henry Marsham, c.1906.

From right to left, he depicted a celadon incense burner with appliquéd flower arabesque and three feet, a group of tea jars in blue and white, stoneware with iron glaze, white glaze, and white slip stamps in Korean style, a stoneware teapot, a tea bowl, an iron glazed jar, a water container with iron glaze, and a vase with handles in underglaze blue cobalt decoration with a lotus petal pattern. These images suggest his object repertoires for whipped tea and steeped tea gatherings. His skills and knowledge of teaware might have had an impact on Marsham’s

⁵⁶⁶ Seki, ‘*Shodai Tōzan shōden*’, no page number.

understanding. Corresponding to this painting, Tōzan's works in the Marsham collection are all relatively small utensils used in Japanese contexts (Fig. 82, Fig. 83).



Fig. 82 Itō Tōzan, Cup with design of flowers with three feet, late nineteenth–beginning of twentieth century, Marsham collection.



Fig. 83 Itō Tōzan, Toothpicks holder in shape of gourd and figure with design of young pine, late nineteenth–beginning of twentieth century, Marsham collection.

Tōzan's variety of experience at different kilns, his openness to share knowledge, and his devotion to Awata ware suggest why this potter was close to Marsham. Before choosing ceramics as his lifework, Tōzan learned at the Maruyama Shijō school painting from the age

of 12 under Koizumi Tōgaku 小泉東丘, a pupil of Maruyama Ōshin 円山応震.⁵⁶⁷ To earn a living, Tōgaku painted on ceramic tea bowls while his wife, Sennyō 仙女, made and sold hand-shaped ceramic tea kettles.⁵⁶⁸ It was natural for Tōzan to join Tōgaku to paint on ceramics and to learn from Sennyō how to form utensils. Tōzan's encounter with Sennyō's hand-formed ceramics shows how female potters played an important role in ceramic production at the very end of the Edo period. Sennyō's works are not yet recognised, but Marsham collected a set of steeped tea vessels by her contemporary female poet and ceramic artist Ōtagaki Rengetsu 大田垣蓮月 (1791–1875) (Fig. 84).⁵⁶⁹



Fig. 84 Ōtagaki Rengetsu, Teapot and cups with engraved poem, nineteenth century, Marsham collection.

⁵⁶⁷ Kuroda Yuzuru 黒田譲, *Meika rekihōroku* 名家歴訪録 (Kyoto: Kuroda Yuzuru 黒田譲, 1899), 280.

⁵⁶⁸ Kuroda, 280. Itō Tōzan II 伊東陶山, 'Ko Itō Tōzan shōden 故伊東陶山小傳', *Teikoku kōgei* 帝国工芸, November 1929, reproduced as Itō Tōzan 伊東陶山, 'Ko Itō Tōzan shōden 故伊東陶山小傳', in *Ronbun sen Meiji hen* 論文選 明治篇, vol. 9, *Sōsho kindai Nihon no dezain* 叢書・近代日本のデザイン. (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō ゆまに書房, 2007), 285.

⁵⁶⁹ Fujioka Kōji 藤岡幸二 ed., *Kyōyaki hyakunen no ayumi* 京焼百年の歩み (Kyoto: Kyoto Tōjiki Kyōkai 京都陶磁器協会, 1962), 269. According to Tōzan's biography in this book, Sennyō assisted Rengetsu with making handmade stoneware, which led Tōzan's learning of ceramics.

Rengetsu formed vessels by hands and engraved her poems on them. The finished works were fired in kilns in Higashiyama, where she also created collaborative works with potters such as Kinkōzan Sōbei in Awata and Kiyomizu Rokubei in Gojōzaka.⁵⁷⁰ The diversity of ceramic works was made possible by both artists bringing new creative insights and the traditional kilns that supported them.

In 1863, Tōzan decided to become a potter.⁵⁷¹ Encouraged by Tōgaku, Tōzan trained under master potters.⁵⁷² Tōzan travelled from kiln to kiln across Japan. In Kyoto, he obtained skills from traditional workshops in Kiyomizu Gojōzaka and Awata regions including Kameya Kyokutei 亀屋旭亭, Mizukoshi Yosobei 水越与三兵衛, Takahashi Dōhachi III, Taizan Yohei 帶山与兵衛 and Iwakurasan Kihei 岩倉山喜平 as well as from skilled potters who came from different regions represented by Kanzan Denshichi 乾山伝七 (1821–90).⁵⁷³

Kanzan was involved in the production of Kotō ware of the Hikone domain until the kiln was closed in 1862. He became the first ceramicist who started the modern manufacture of Kyoto ware, founding the largest porcelain factory and adopting Western enamels.⁵⁷⁴ Tōzan participated in Kanzan's factory as a decorator along with the skilled potters flooding to Kyoto from closed kilns when they lost sponsorship from clans due to the chaotic transition from the Edo to Meiji era.⁵⁷⁵ While his apprenticeship at workshops enabled him to learn

⁵⁷⁰ Chiba Yutaka 千葉豊, 'Kōkogaku shryō toshiteno Rengetsu yaki 考古資料としての蓮月焼', *The Annual Report of the Center for Archaeological Operations* 2001 (March 2006), 313.

⁵⁷¹ Itō, 'Ko Itō Tōzan shōden', 286. Kuroda, *Meika rekihōroku*, 280. While Itō Tōzan II writes that Tōzan I started learning both painting on and making ceramics at the age of 12, Kuroda records it was 13.

⁵⁷² Kuroda, 280.

⁵⁷³ Kuroda, 281. Itō, 286.

⁵⁷⁴ Fujioka Kōji, *Kyōyaki: sono rekishi to tenbō* 京焼：その歴史と展望 (Kyoto: Kyoto Tōjiki Kyōkai 京都陶磁器協会, 1972), 64.

⁵⁷⁵ Fujioka, 63.

traditional methods of production, he also developed an enthusiasm for innovating Kyoto ware. Furthermore, he developed knowledge through one to six months stays at kilns in Omi, Kii, Mino, Owari, Ise, Kaga, Awaji as well as in East Japan and collecting objects made by well-known potters in these areas.⁵⁷⁶ In 1896, Tōzan became the first director of the union of Kyoto ceramic manufactures (Kyoto Tōjiki Dōgyō Kumiai) and shared his original glazing techniques with the members.⁵⁷⁷

While he sought technological advancement, his innovation was also closely connected to revivifying old aesthetics. In 1873, Tōzan was involved in reviving Asahi ware (Fig. 85) in Kyoto with Matsubayashi Chōbei 松林長兵衛.⁵⁷⁸



Fig. 85 Tea bowl, Asahi ware, nineteenth century, Marsham collection.

Asahi ware's revival was not through repeating the production of the past. Tōzan brought in his methods of overglaze polychrome enamels and firing in muffle kilns to the revival

⁵⁷⁶ Kuroda, *Meika rekihōroku*, 281. Itō, 'Ko Itō Tōzan shōden', 286.

⁵⁷⁷ Fujioka, 65.

⁵⁷⁸ Itō, 'Ko Itō Tōzan shōden', 266.

project.⁵⁷⁹ Yet the most significant contribution of Tōzan to the Kyoto ceramic industry was to improve Awata ware.

He explains why he decided to revive old Awata aesthetics, which had been left behind in an interview article below:

In 1881, I visited the domestic exhibition in Tokyo and viewed great works to learn their technology. Then, a person who is now serving in a good position asked me, ‘Why don’t you revive old type of Awata ware in a way to preserve antiquities all the more rather than to produce normal products?’ He continued telling me that the contemporary Awata ware was all gilded for export and its price is declining. ‘It is pity that all the Awata ware became golden brocade wares.’ I originally dislike mimicking someone[’s idea] and I wanted to make what I wanted. However, it was also true that most Awata kilns with old history ceased the fire and it was regrettable for Awata ware to become extinct. Well, once born, a human would die. When I die, I want to leave something [for future]. I decided to improve Awata ware while preserving the old part. Since then, I have been making stoneware [not porcelain].⁵⁸⁰

In Higashiyama, there were two important ceramic districts: Kiyomizu and Awata. While the former succeeded in the active production of porcelain in the Meiji era, the latter continued to produce stoneware as its product identity. Represented by Kinkōzan kiln, Awata kilns in the Meiji era shifted their focus to export products with extravagant decoration. Although such export Awata ware was famed under the name of Kyō Satsuma, traditional kilns including Iwakurasan and Taizan ceased their production in the early Meiji era and the export boom did not last long. In the early 1880s, the Kyoto ceramic industry as a whole faced recession.⁵⁸¹

To create a new Awata ware for the modern time, Tōzan sourced the aesthetics of the past and experimented with the possibilities of technology. Traditional Awata ware had overglaze polychrome enamels fired at a low temperature.⁵⁸² To widen the possibilities of expression,

⁵⁷⁹ Seki, ‘Shodai Itō Tōzan shōden’, no page number.

⁵⁸⁰ Kuroda, *Meika rekihōroku*, 282–283. Translated by Ai Fukunaga.

⁵⁸¹ Fujioka, *Kyōyaki: sono rekishi to tenbō*, 64.

⁵⁸² Kuroda, 284.

he invented new polychrome enamels for the Awata stoneware body which were fired at a high temperature.⁵⁸³ With modern technology, he was able to realise a palette with ‘flavour’ which was absent in conventional gaudy colours for export ware.⁵⁸⁴ The bird-shaped incense container in Marsham’s collection demonstrates a part of Tōzan’s achievement (Fig. 79). The bird was a preferred motif for incense containers in the Edo period as seen in Marsham’s collection. However, the whiter stoneware body and the use of his new enamels in pink, blue and black differentiated his work from the previous era.

Before meeting each other, Marsham and Tōzan made their Japanese ceramic collections available for public viewing at two different locations far away, Maidstone and Kyoto. While Marsham loaned his collection to Maidstone in 1882, Tōzan exhibited his collection to the public as references which ‘commemorate old masters’ and ‘inspire new creation’ from around 1880.⁵⁸⁵ In 1919 (Taishō 8), Tōzan donated his 80 ceramics to the Imperial Museums in Kyoto and Nara (Fig. 86).⁵⁸⁶

At the beginning of the 1900s, Marsham collected the products from the kilns where Tōzan trained himself and those that inspired the potter. Although Tōzan’s collecting was not a goal in itself but a means to improve contemporary Awata ware; Marsham and Tōzan shared a common passion for old Japanese ceramics. Itō Tōzan II records that Tōzan I enjoyed visiting temples, shrines, and collectors’ houses to appreciate important collections and stories of the

⁵⁸³ Kuroda, 283.

⁵⁸⁴ Kuroda, 283–284.

⁵⁸⁵ Itō, ‘Ko Itō Tōzan shōden’, 286.

⁵⁸⁶ Itō, 287. Ono Yoshihiro 尾野 善裕, ‘Shodai Itō Tōzan to seiyō tōji: Emīru Murā sha sei shinshayū kahei 初代伊東陶山と西洋陶磁—エミール・ミュラー社製辰砂釉花瓶 [Itō Tōzan and Western Ceramics: The Cinnabar-glazed Flower Vase Made by the Emile muller]’, *Gakusō: The Kyoto National Museum Bulletin* 33 (May 2011): 119, table 1. Ono lists 66 works located at the Kyoto and Nara National Museums.

objects.⁵⁸⁷ Tōzan could have seen Marsham's collection and shared the joy of appreciating ceramic works with him.



Fig. 86 Aoki Mokubei, Teapot with the design of phoenix, nineteenth century, donated by Itō Tōzan, Kyoto National Museum.

Tōzan was not the only one who learned about and researched Kyoto wares of the past. The Kiyomizu Rokubei family collected various ceramic works for their creative purposes.⁵⁸⁸ The Kinkōzan kiln, famous for export Awata ware, re-collected and constructed its family history at the end of the nineteenth century. Kinkōzan Sōbei VII (1868–1927) conducted a historical survey of the works produced under the fifth to sixth generations of Kinkōzan kiln.⁵⁸⁹ He collected products relevant to the kiln's history as reference works for their production.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁷ Itō, 40.

⁵⁸⁸ Aichi Prefectural Ceramic Museum 愛知県陶磁美術館, *Kiyomizu Rokubei ke: Kyō no hanayagi* 清水六兵衛家：京の華やぎ [The Kiyomizu Rokubei family] (Seto: Aichi Prefectural Ceramic Museum 愛知県陶磁美術館, 2013). Aichi Prefectural Ceramic Museum 愛知県陶磁美術館, ed., *Kiyomizu Rokubei ke shozō shiryōshū* 清水六兵衛家所蔵資料集 (Kyoto: Kiyomizu Rokubei, 2013).

⁵⁸⁹ Kuroda, *Meika rekihōroku*, 330.

⁵⁹⁰ Kuroda, 330.

Miyanaga Tōzan I 宮永東山 (1868–1941), who once served as an advisor for the Kinkōzan kiln collected Kyoto ware produced in the Edo period along with products from other regions.⁵⁹¹ Kyoto Institute of Technology purchased his collection in 1902 and 1931. While the former consisted of Hizen porcelains, the latter is mainly of Kyoto wares of the Edo period, Chinese and Korean ceramics.⁵⁹² The Miyanaga collection shows a similarity with the Marsham collection in the inclusion of diverse Kyoto wares (Fig. 87).⁵⁹³ Working with Kinkōzan kiln, Miyanaga Tōzan must have acknowledged the importance of the ceramics of the Edo period. For producers of ceramics in the Meiji era, their ancestors' works remained an important legacy to preserve and learn from, even though the works and aesthetics of the past were obsolete for their production.



Fig. 87 Kinkōzan kiln, Tea bowl with shimenawa rope and treasure design, Edo period, Miyanaga Tōzan collection, Museum and Archives, Kyoto Institute of Technology.

⁵⁹¹ Miyanaga Tōzan II 二代宮永東山, 'Awata-yaki saigo no kōnin: Sanjōkai no kain tachi', in *Awata-yaki: 'Awata-yaki hasshō no chi' hi konryū kinen* 粟田焼最後の工人—三条会の会員たち—, ed. Ogawa Kinzō 小川金三 (Kyoto: Awatayaki Hozon Kenkyūkai 粟田焼保存研究会, 1989), 45–6. Miyanaga Tōzan I involved in the Paris International Exhibition in 1900 (Meiji 33) as a government official and became the advisor for Kinkōzan kiln next year. In 1909, he launched his own workshop.

⁵⁹² In 2015, Miyanaga Tōzan's collection was exhibited at the Museum and Archives, Kyoto Institute of Technology Museum.

⁵⁹³ Both Miyanaga Tōzan and Ito Tōzan collected Kinkōzan's tea bowl with the design of *shimenawa* rope. See Kinkōzan kiln, tea bowl with *shimenawa* rope, treasure, pine, bamboo, and prunus design, stoneware with overglaze polychrome enamels, Height: 8.3 cm, Diameter: 10.7 cm, donated by Itō Tōzan, Kyoto National Museum, G甲130, ColBase, accessed 3 April 2019, <https://colbase.nich.go.jp/>.

André Bellessort (1866–1942), a French writer who travelled in Japan in 1897–1898 recorded his visit to the Kinkōzan kiln with his Japanese guide Maeda.⁵⁹⁴ The French visitor was impressed with the contemporary craftsmanship at the workshop and was guided to a first exhibition room of contemporary splendour, full of extraordinarily brilliant pots.⁵⁹⁵ However, Maeda did not stop at the room and introduced Bellessort to the second room with objects in ‘more discreet, more harmonious colours, forms both soberer and more strange’.⁵⁹⁶ This room was not yet what Maeda wanted to show him. In the third room, where ‘American commissioners do not penetrate’, Bellessort viewed ceramics ‘with gold, blue or green, [that] carry on their fragile flanks all the grace and the history of [Kyoto’s] genius’, which are probably Kinkōzan wares of the mid to late Edo period or works inspired by the older works.⁵⁹⁷ His astonishment with the fragile but beautiful Awata wares of the past parallels Marsham’s enthusiasm for Iwakurasan ware of the Awata region.

In the late Meiji era, the nostalgia for old ceramics and styles was both an internal and external phenomenon. Tōzan and Marsham had a mutual interest in Japanese ceramics of the past from different positions as an artist and a collector. For Tōzan, the creation of a Japanese ceramic collection with a particular focus on Awata ware in Britain could have been desirable for re-evaluating the bygone local legacy. Tōzan’s insights, aesthetics and openness as an Awata potter were likely to have benefited Marsham’s collecting and research.

⁵⁹⁴ Morimoto Hideo 森本英夫, ‘Jo 序’, in *Meiji taizai nikki* 明治滞在日記, by André Bellessort, trans. Ōkubo Akio 大久保昭男 (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha 新人物往来社, 1989), ii, 54–55.

⁵⁹⁵ André Bellessort, *Les Journées et Les Nuits Japonaises* (1908), 4th ed. (Paris: Librairie Académique Didier et Cie, libraires-éditeurs, 1926), 71. ‘les salles d’exposition la première était splendide, pleine de potiches’ extraordinairement brillantes’.

⁵⁹⁶ Bellessort, 71. ‘plus discrète, aux couleurs plus harmonieuses, aux formes à la fois plus sobres et plus étranges’.

⁵⁹⁷ Bellessort, 71. ‘les commissionnaires américains ne pénètrent pas’. Bellessort, 72. ‘écorées d’or, bleues ou vertes, portent sur leurs flancs fragiles toute la grâce et toute l’histoire de votre génie’.

Reikanji: Imperial Convent Bringing Memory and Taste

In some cases, Marshams' albums are adorned with eye-catching additions such as realistic drawings of green leaves and business cards. The assemblage of his memories, visually and physically, also illuminates the side stories of his encounters with the locals. The pages below with a *noshi* decoration and a business card of Rokujō Tokuzen 六條徳全 (1872–1948) represent his memory of Reikanji, Shishigadani in East Kyoto (Fig. 88).

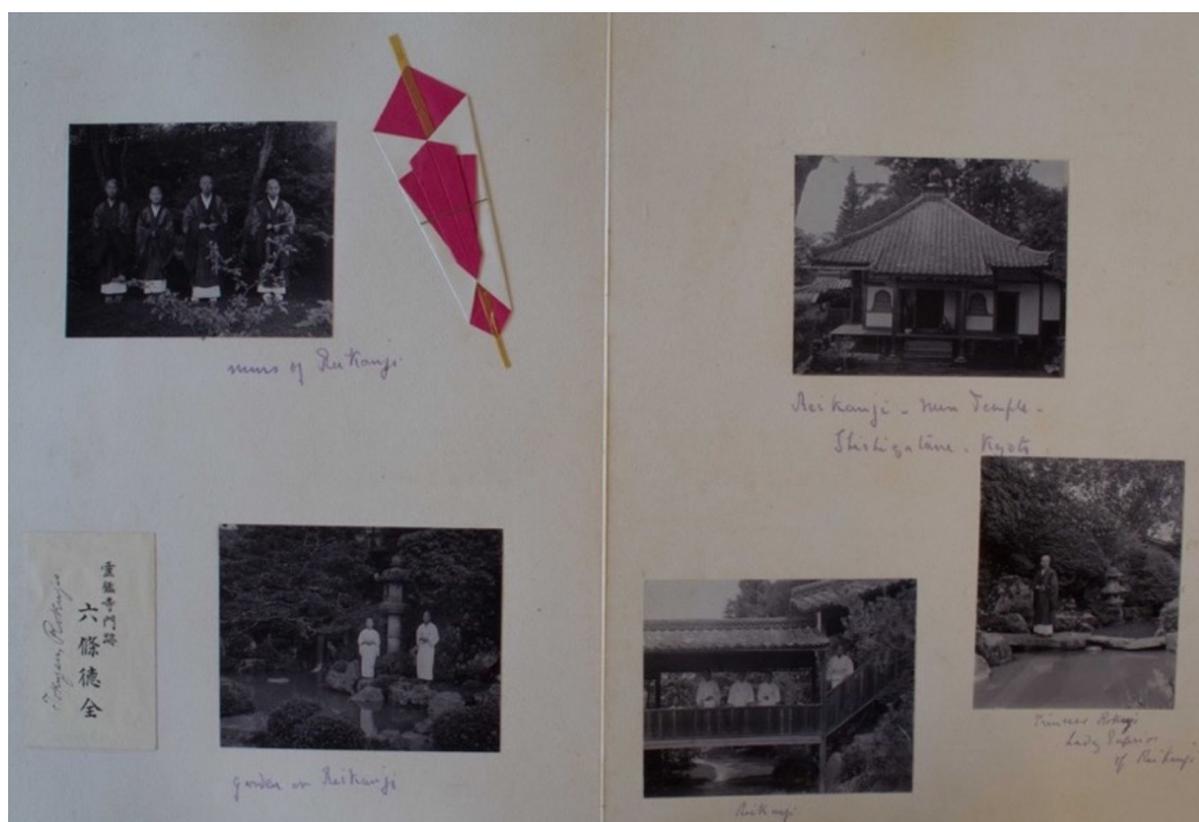


Fig. 88 Nuns at Reikanji, Kyoto, Henry Marsham's album of photography (detail), c. 1906.

Reikanji, the imperial Buddhist convent with the nickname *hana no gosho* (Imperial Palace of Flower) is famous for the beautiful camellia. The temple has attracted visitors for its picturesque scenery. Things put into the album retain Marsham's attachment to the place. In the photographs, Tokuzen, the abbess and nuns line up at the temple with bashful expressions on their faces. It is interesting to find that the late Meiji abbess gave Marsham her bilingual

business card, which reflects how the imperial Buddhist convent built a friendly relationship with foreign visitors.

On 30 June 1906, Marsham and his Japanese guide took Admiral Moore to this temple. The temple was also the place where Marsham and his friend Satow viewed important lacquerware works.⁵⁹⁸ For the collector, the temple appears to be his favourite place to visit. For the temple, welcoming foreign guests might have been a way of surviving the difficult time in the Meiji era. The imperial convents traditionally accommodated female relatives of imperial families, but the Meiji government policy declaring Shintō as the national religion abruptly ended the tradition. Sōjun, the fifth abbess of Reikanji, before Tokuzen, was forced to live in a secular world against her will.⁵⁹⁹

Objects in Marsham's collection trace the interaction between the collector and locals, and form memories as his travel albums show. The relationship with the locals created unexpected personal and historical values for his collection. For example, in the miscellaneous list of Marsham's collection, two *gosho* dolls are mentioned as gifts from the 'Manageress' of Reikanji (Fig. 89).⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁸ Satow, *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, British Envoy in Peking (1900–06)*, vol.2, 294.

⁵⁹⁹ About Sōjun, see Gina Cogan, 'Time Capsules for Tradition: Repositioning Imperial Convents for the Meiji Period', *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal*, no. 30/31 (2006), 81, 92, 96.

⁶⁰⁰ Reikanji is famous for its doll collection. See Kirihata Ken 切畑健, 'Reikanji monzeki shozō no ningyō, senshoku 霊鑑寺門跡所蔵の人形・染織', in *Nihon no shūkyō to jendā ni kansuru kokusai sōgō kenkyū: amadera chōsa no seika wo kiso to shite: Heisei 18–20 nendo kagaku kenkyūhi hojokin (kiban kenkyū (B)) kenkyū seika hōkokusho* 日本の宗教とジェンダーに関する国際総合研究：尼寺調査の成果を基礎として平成18–20年度科学研究費補助金（基礎研究(B)) 研究成果報告書, ed. Oka Yoshiko 岡佳子, Ronbun hen 論文編 (Nishinomiya-shi: Ōtemae Daigaku 大手前大学, 2009), 19–30.



Fig. 89 Doll of boy, eighteenth–nineteenth century, previously owned by Reikanji, Marsham collection.

They were further described as ‘presented to temple at the death of Emperor Kōkaku’(1771–1840).⁶⁰¹ The Reikanji also used to receive dolls from the Imperial Palace every year because the girls started to live in the temple from a very early age. The gifting of the dolls from the temple to Marsham indicates that Marsham’s acquaintances were important contributors to the collection. Apart from the primary set of values assigned to Marsham’s collection by the collector, the communication with individuals in his circle produced distinctive biographies for the objects. These objects, collected through the special connections, tell stories of themselves, local history and Marsham’s experience. The Marsham collection demonstrates multiple values in the transcultural process of its creation and the strength of networks in collection formation.

In Marsham’s collection, there is another doll with the provenance of Emperor Kōkaku and Reikanji (Fig. 90). The doll is stored in a portable shrine originally made for a Buddhist sculpture, which has an inscription in the interior of the left door as follows:

This doll was treasured by the Emperor Kōkaku. On a girl's day in March during his 37 years reign (1780–1817), he gifted this doll to the Princess Sōjun (1817–

⁶⁰¹ List of Marsham collection written by Henry Marsham, 1906, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum.

1890), when she visited the Imperial Palace. Throughout her life, from day to night, she always adored this doll. She kept it with her at all times.⁶⁰²

Princess Sōjun was born to the Fushiminomiya family as the ninth daughter. She became an adopted daughter of the retired Emperor Kōkaku in 1819. If the text is true, there is only a chance that she received the doll in the year she was born because the Emperor retired in the same year of her birth. However, as Emperor Kōkaku and Princess Sōjun had a father-daughter connection, it is more likely that she received the doll after the Emperor retired. Marsham noted the translated transcription about this doll.⁶⁰³ The accession of dolls from Reikanji shows that the collector paid attention to the provenance of objects from a noble family.



Fig. 90 Doll in shrine, eighteenth–nineteenth century, previously owned by Reikanji, Marsham collection.

⁶⁰² Translated by Author.

御人形履歴

右人形ハ光格天皇御秘蔵ノ品ナリシヲ三月節句ノ式日
御在位安永九年ヨリ文化十三年迄参拾七年間前靈鑑
寺宗淳宮殿下御参内之節御拝領被遊具後殿下
御在世中ハ日夜御側ヲ離シ賜ハズ非常ニ愛セラレシ品ナリ

⁶⁰³ To solve the dating conflict, Marsham (and possibly a Japanese assistant) instead understood that Empress Ogimachi (1740–1813) gave this doll to the Emperor Kōkaku. Henry Marsham, note on a doll ‘Oichi’, written on a Miyako Hotel letter pad, undated, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum.

Marsham might have seen the ceramic collection of Reikanji. Similar to Marsham's collection, utensils for everyday life characterise the temple collection.⁶⁰⁴ Among them, *kinri-goyō* products made for the noble families signify the tie between the temple and the imperial family where generations of the Superiors came from until 1873.⁶⁰⁵ The temple has ten *kinri-goyō* stonewares from Kyoto and 50 porcelains of this kind made in Arita and Kyoto.⁶⁰⁶ Five stoneware vessels have underglaze iron brown and cobalt blue decoration of the chrysanthemum crest. Two of them have marks of the Taizan kiln in Awata district, Kyoto while others have no marks.

The chrysanthemum crested ceramics are also found at other temples with imperial family connections. For example, Shin-Zenkōji, a sub-temple (*tacchū*) of Sennyūji has Taizan kiln's *kotatsu*, a stove-shaped vessel used by Emperor Kōkaku (Fig. 91). Sennyūji built in the twelfth century had served as the family temple of the Imperial family from the thirteenth century and accommodated their relics until Emperor Kōmei (1831–1866).⁶⁰⁷ Blue and white porcelain dishes used by the Meiji Emperor and Empress Shōken were also gifted to Sennyūji (Fig. 91).

⁶⁰⁴ Oka Yoshiko, 'Reikanji monzeki shozō no tōjiki 靈鑑寺門跡所蔵の陶磁器', in *Nihon no shūkyō to jendā ni kansuru kokusai sōgō kenkyū: amadera chōsa no seika wo kiso to shite: Heisei 18–20endo kagaku kenkyūhi hojokin (kiban kenkyū (B)) kenkyū seika hōkokusho* 日本の宗教とジェンダーに関する国際総合研究：尼寺調査の成果を基礎として平成18–20年度科学研究費補助金（基礎研究(B)) 研究成果報告書, ed. Oka Yoshiko 岡佳子, ronbun hen 論文編 (Nishinomiya: Ōtemae University 大手前大学, 2009), 31–35.

⁶⁰⁵ Oka, 35.

⁶⁰⁶ Oka, 33–34.

⁶⁰⁷ Sennyūji 泉涌寺, ed., *Mitera Sennyūji* 御寺 泉涌寺 (Kyoto: Sennyūji 泉涌寺, u.d.), 21.



Fig. 91 Taizan kiln, Stove used by Emperor Kōkaku, nineteenth century, Shin-Zenkōji, Kyoto.



Fig. 92 Set of dishes given by Meiji Emperor and Empress Shōken, Sennyūji, Kyoto.

Furthermore, separately from this ‘collection’, the temple has used dishes from the Imperial Palace for daily use.⁶⁰⁸ In Marsham’s collection, there are eight *kinri-goyō* daily utensils with two porcelains (Fig. 93) and six stonewares including two teapots (Fig. 94). Concerning the close connection between Marsham and Reikanji, he might have been familiar with the *kinri-goyō* type as the wares used in everyday life by nobles and temples.

⁶⁰⁸ Kindly shown at Sennyūji, 19 July 2018.



Fig. 93 Tsuji kiln, Bowl with chrysanthemum crest and geometric pattern, nineteenth century, Marsham collection.

Fig. 94 Teapot with chrysanthemum crest, Awata ware, Kyoto, nineteenth century, Marsham collection.

This chapter mapped out how Marsham's network developed through his travelling and showed that his communication with Japanese locals shaped his understanding and collection of Japanese ceramics. The next chapter examines Kyoto's regional context which supported Marsham's collecting at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Chapter Five: Marsham's Infrastructure of Collecting

Objects for tea played important roles as examples of contemporary culture connecting the past and the present, the foreign and the local in Higashiyama. This chapter analyses the characteristics of the region as a venue for diplomacy, gatherings, and creative salons, which created values for tea utensils.

5.1 Festive Diplomacy: War, Tourism, and Collecting in Kyoto 1905–6

A photograph of Yasaka Shrine in Marsham's album of photography (Fig. 95) shows the signboard of *Gaisen Kinen Naikoku Seisanhin Tenrankai* (the Triumph Memorial Exhibition of Domestic Products) next to the notice of a memorial service (Fig. 96).



Fig. 95 Annotated by Henry Marsham, 'Gateway to Gion Temple Kyoto', album of photography (detail), 1906.



Fig. 96 Detail of above.

In the exhibition celebrating the return of soldiers from the Russo-Japan war, Itō Tōzan displayed a boiling water pot with a pine design.⁶⁰⁹ Marsham must have dropped by the exhibition during his walks. The hotel, dealers, and artists who participated in Marsham's collecting were involved in some aspects of the display cultures of the region. Marsham himself was one of the major targets of such displays, as a foreign traveller, a British noble, or a diplomatic VIP to be shown the representation of history and arts of the region. Marsham stayed in Higashiyama during and after the Russo-Japanese war when the region functioned as a stage of festive diplomacy closely connected to modern tourism.

In 1905, William H. Taft (1857–1930), Secretary of the Army of the United States and Alice Roosevelt (1884–1980), the daughter of the then American president, visited Japan on the

⁶⁰⁹ Kuroda Tengai 黒田天外, 'Gaisen Kinen Hakurankai hyōbanki 凱旋記念博覧会評判記 (4)', *KHS*, 12 April 1906, 4.

way to the Philippines. The American guests received a warm welcome and attention in Japan. After passing by 7,500 people welcoming them at Hikone, Shiga prefecture, the party was cheered by citizens with flags at Kyoto station.⁶¹⁰ The cover article of *Kyoto Hinode Shimbun* (KHS) on that day announced their visit to readers with illustrations of their portraits and the flags of the U.S. and Japan.⁶¹¹ They were entertained by guided tours, music and performances and local products (Fig. 97). On the 30th of July, the newspaper reported Taft and Roosevelt's travel itineraries which started with the visit to the Imperial Palace, Nijō Palace, Kawashima textile factory, Butokuden (a hall for Japanese martial art), to the display of Art and Crafts at Chion'in temple, concluding with a gift from Takashimaya department store to the VIPs.⁶¹²

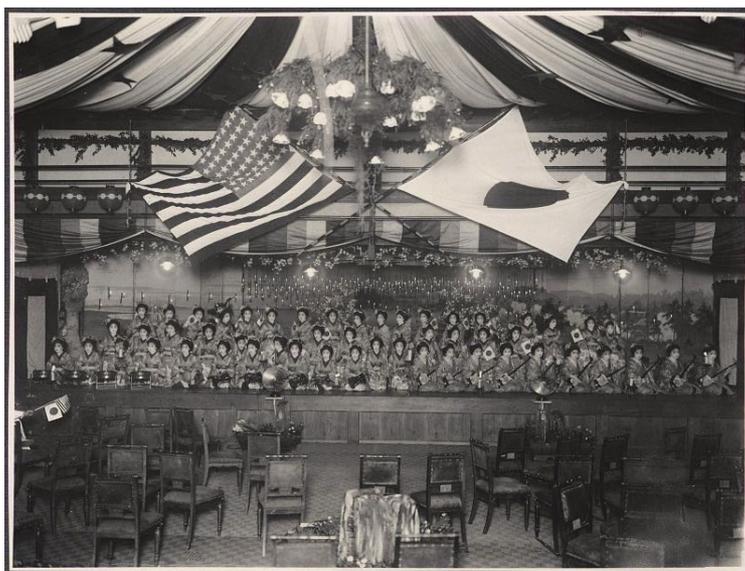


Fig. 97 Burr McIntosh, Female musicians on stage with Japanese and American flags, Kyoto, July 29, 1905.

⁶¹⁰ ‘Chihō dempō (29 nichi hatsu) Rikugunkyō ikkō tsūka (Hikone) 地方電報(29日発)陸軍卿一行通過(彦根)’, *KHS*, 30 July 1905, 2. See also, McIntosh, Burr (1862–1942), Kyoto: Carriage with William H. Taft and Alice Roosevelt cheered by flag-waving crowd in front of Kyoto Station. July 29, 1905, silver gelatin photographic print mounted into a disassembled photo album, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Washington, DC, FSA A2009.02 2.13a.2, accessed 27 February 2018, http://collections.si.edu/search/detail/edanmdm:siris_arc_363393.

⁶¹¹ ‘Kihin wo mukau 貴賓を迎う’, *KHS*, 29 July 1905, 1.

⁶¹² ‘Nyū Kyō go no kihin 入京後の貴賓’, *KHS*, 30 July 1905, 2

The welcoming event for the American guests in Kyoto was organised by the individuals closely connected to Kyoto's industrial promotion for overseas markets. Dealers curated the exclusive display at the Chion'in temple for the American dignities. Allocated rooms and hallways of the temple, manufacturers and dealers displayed their products: textiles, clothes, screens, fans, ceramics, metalwares and cloisonné, and bonsai. Hayashi Shinsuke and Ikeda Seisuke 池田清助 were among the dozens of 'trade dealers' in charge of displaying their *bōekihin*, trade goods in the Halls of Orchid and Heron.⁶¹³ After the exhibition, Taft bought an ivory figure from Hayashi for 30 yen among other purchases.⁶¹⁴ When the VIPs came to the temple, the Kyoto city Mayor Saigō Kikujirō 西郷菊次郎 (1861–1928) guided Taft while Roosevelt was directed by Niwa Keisuke 丹羽圭介 (1856–1941), a specialist in crafts, industry, and exhibitions.⁶¹⁵ Niwa worked for both the public and private sectors to promote the industry in Kyoto with an extensive background in engaging in domestic and international exhibitions as a judge.⁶¹⁶ Niwa was even a core founding member of the Nihon Butokukai (Japan Martial Art Society) which promoted Japanese martial arts.⁶¹⁷ Watching the performance at Butokuden, Taft commented that the strength of the Japanese military derived

⁶¹³ Ibid.

⁶¹⁴ 'Tafuto shi no kanran タフト氏の観覧', *KHS*, 31 July 1905, 1.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid. 'Arisu jō no kanran アリス嬢の観覧', *KHS*, 31 July 1905, 1.

⁶¹⁶ Namiki Seishi 並木誠士 and Aoki Mihoko 青木美保子, eds, *Kyoto kindai bijutsu kōgei no nettowāku* 京都近代美術工芸のネットワーク (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan 思文閣出版, 2017), 240. Niwa administrated the publication of the English guidebook for the Kyoto Exhibition in 1873, involved in industrial policy making at Kyoto Prefecture, and led Kyoto Tōki Kaisha (Kyoto Ceramic Company) to develop the competitiveness of Kyoto ceramic industry in 1888–1893. In 1902, Niwa was elected to the House of Representative for Kyoto City.

⁶¹⁷ Mita Shōgyō Kenkyūkai 三田商業研究会, *Keiō Gijuku shusshin meiryū retsuden* 慶応義塾出身名流列伝 (Tokyo: Jitsugyō no Sekaisha 実業之世界社, 1909), 150. Niwa's passion in Japanese martial art came from his antiquarian research. Although he was a leading character of contemporary Kyoto products, he was a collector of modern European arts and Japanese antiquities including a few hundred types of stoneware.

from the Japanese tradition.⁶¹⁸ Niwa's engagement for this event shows that the city of Kyoto was aware of the impact of cultural display for foreign visitors.

Prince Arthur of Connaught's Garter Mission to Japan, 1906

A similar spectacle was prepared when Prince Arthur of Connaught came to Kyoto in 1906. Japan and Britain concluded the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1902 aimed primarily at protecting their mutual interests in Manchuria and Korea from Russian expansion.⁶¹⁹ As Antony Best observes, the alliance did not mean an equal relationship between the two countries in the beginning.⁶²⁰ The non-European race and non-Christian religion of the Japanese remained an obstacle for her high diplomatic figures to be treated equally in Britain with her European counterparts even after the conclusion of the alliance.⁶²¹ In 1902, when Edward VII presented the Order of the Garter to rulers and heirs of monarchs in friendship, the Emperor of Japan was excluded.⁶²² The Russo-Japan war in 1904–5 was a game-changer for the relationship. In 1905, the King agreed to send a Garter Mission to award the Order to the Meiji Emperor early in 1906.⁶²³ It was also after the Japanese triumph over Russia when the British Legation in Japan became the Embassy.⁶²⁴

⁶¹⁸ 'Nyū Kyō go no kihin 入京後の貴賓', *KHS*, 30 July 1905, 2.

⁶¹⁹ Fujimura Michio 藤村道生, 'Nichi Ei dōmei 日英同盟', in *Nihon daihyakka zensho* 日本大百科全書 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan 小学館), accessed 13 May 2019, JapanKnowledge. Nakayama Jiichi 中山治一, 'Nichi Ei dōmei 日英同盟', in *Kokushi daijiten* 国史大辞典 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館), accessed 13 May 2019, JapanKnowledge.

⁶²⁰ Antony Best, 'Race, Monarchy, and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1902–1922', *Social Science Japan Journal* 9, no. 2 (2006): 171–86.

⁶²¹ Best, 176.

⁶²² Best, 178–179.

⁶²³ Best, 181.

⁶²⁴ Best, 181.

In February 1906, Prince Arthur Connaught, nephew of Edward VII, travelled to Japan to award the Order of Garter to the Meiji Emperor.⁶²⁵ The symbolism of the British Royal was a powerful political tool for British diplomacy, appealing not only to Japanese politicians but to the public.⁶²⁶ Japanese adults and children appear to have received Prince Arthur's visit to Japan as a festive and intimate event.⁶²⁷ In Kyoto, a local newspaper even reproduced primary school students' illustrations related to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (Fig. 98).⁶²⁸

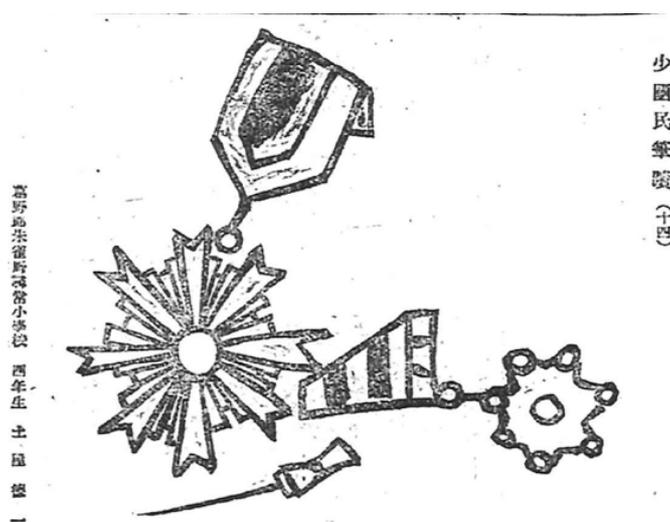


Fig. 98 Tsuchiya Tokuchichi (4th grade student), Orders, *Kyoto Hinode Shimbun*, 28 January 1906.

The welcoming mood in Japan preceded the Prince's journey. For the triumphal return of the Japanese navy from the Russo-Japanese war, a gigantic triumphal arch was built at Okazaki park with the words 'Navy *banzai*' and 'Celebrate Anglo-Japanese Alliance', with fluttering British and Japanese flags (Fig. 99).⁶²⁹ This illustration in a local newspaper on 25 November

⁶²⁵ Hugo Vickers, 'Arthur, Prince [Prince Arthur of Connaught]', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed 12 May 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30461>.

⁶²⁶ Best, 67.

⁶²⁷ 'Kangei no daimyō gyōretsu: Ei kōshitsu gokangei no yokyō 驩迎の大名行列 英皇族御驩迎の余興', *KHS*, 20 Feb 1906, 2.

⁶²⁸ For example, 'Shō kokumin hisseki 小国民筆蹟 (14)', *KHS*, 28 January 1906, 9.

⁶²⁹ 'Shimin shukuga kai 市民祝賀会', *KHS*, 25 November 1905, 1. Kinoshita Naoyuki 木下直之, 'Nichiro sensō wo kataru mono 日露戦争を語るもの', in *Nichi-Ro sensō sutadīzu* 日

1905 is very similar to the scene reproduced as ‘Japan of Today’ in a diorama at the Japan British Exhibition in 1910, London (Fig. 100). Mimicking the commemoration of the war, a boy looking up with his hands holding two national flags represents Japanese hope for prosperity in the bilateral relationship.

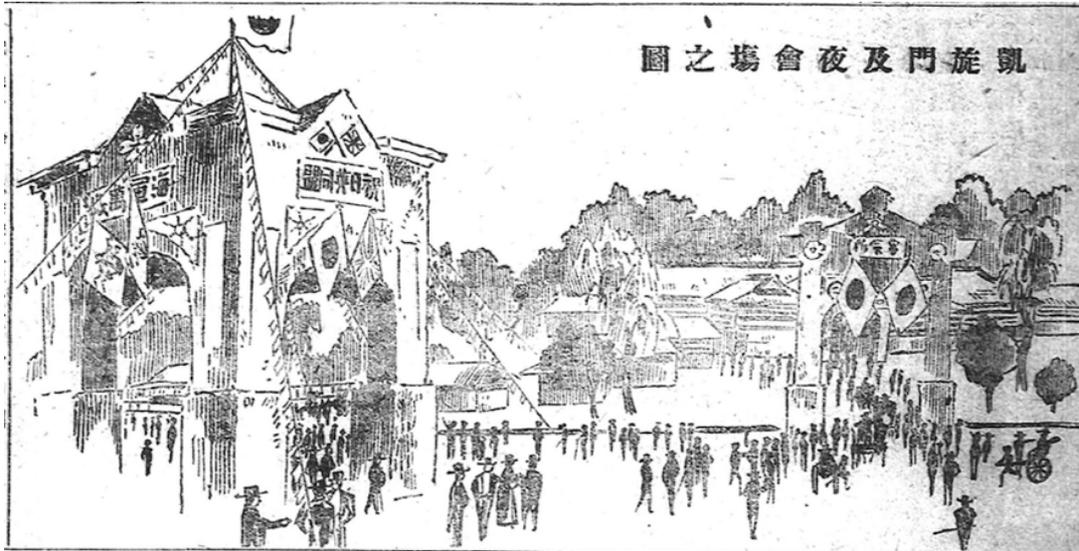


Fig. 99 Arch of Triumph and Evening Party, *Kyoto Hinode Shimbun*, 25 November 1905.



Fig. 100 *Japan of Today*, diorama, the Japan British Exhibition, 1910.

露戦争スタディーズ, ed. Komori Yōichi 小森陽一 and Narita Ryūichi 成田龍一 (Tokyo: Kinokuniya Shoten 紀伊國屋書店, 2004), 28. Since the Sino-Japanese war in 1894–1895, the Japanese celebrated each victory at the fronts even before the announcement of the end of wars.

Displaying and Collecting Arts and Culture

The party of the Prince's experience of Japanese culture and commerce was led by entrepreneurs and dealers. In Tokyo, entrepreneurs invited the Prince and his party to a kabuki theatre. The first kabuki title was *Mukashi gatari Nichi-Ei dōmei (Old Tale of Anglo-Japanese Alliance)*.⁶³⁰ When the British group came to Kyoto, they were invited to an exclusive exhibition of *the Old and New Art* at the Ōmiya gosho. The private exhibition appears to be an international exhibition on a small scale. The exhibits even included phoenix figure(s) from the rooftop of Hōō-dō (Hall of Phoenix), Byōdō-in temple, reminding us of the display of golden dolphin figures from the top of Nagoya castle in the Vienna International Exhibition in 1873.⁶³¹ Hayashi Shinsuke was one of the organisers of the exhibition along with Iida Shinshichi 飯田新七, Kinkōzan Sōbei, Niwa Keisuke, Namikawa Yasuyuki 並河靖之, Ueda Seitō 上田正當, Kaneko Kinji 金子錦二.⁶³² In KHS, these leading artists and dealers in Kyoto were together called '*bijutsuka*' (artists/experts of art), though the current use of this word only indicates creative artists.⁶³³

Calling dealers *bijutsuka* reflects the nature of the Meiji, Kyoto industry where they sold products as designers, managers, and display coordinators. Kyoto dealers organized various presentations of objects both for commercial and diplomatic purposes in Kyoto and abroad.

⁶³⁰ 'Eikoku kizoku shōtai no engeki 英国貴族招待の演劇', *KHS*, 21 February 1906, 7. Kokuritsu Gekijō kindai kabuki nenpyō hensanshitsu 国立劇場近代歌舞伎年表編纂室, ed., *Kindai kabuki nenpyō Kyoto hen* 近代歌舞伎年表京都篇 (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten 八木書店, 1998), 69. Kyoto's drama industry follows the political theme in Tokyo. At Daikokuza, in Kyoto, a drama entitled 'Anglo-Japanese Alliance' was performed on 15–28 May. However, the title was changed later to 'Anglo-Japanese Friendship' as the former sounded too direct to the political matter.

⁶³¹ 'Hōōdō no hōō shuppin 鳳凰堂の鳳凰出品', *KHS*, 5 March 1906, 1. The viewing was held in the afternoon of 9 March 1906.

⁶³² 'Kihin kangei junbi ihō 貴賓驩迎彙報', *KHS*, 22 February 1906, 2.

⁶³³ Ibid.

Display was a sophisticated tactic to attract customers. This commercialised motivation for display has been discussed in the nineteenth-century development of modern department stores across the oceans in the West and Japan. The success of Iida Shinshichi's Takashimaya department stores parallels that of Liberty in Britain.⁶³⁴ Takashimaya, with its origin as a second-hand kimono shop in 1831, developed into a western-style department store by the early twentieth century.⁶³⁵ In 1887, the Kyoto store introduced the first show windows, and later the showcases even displayed 'installations' of specific settings with their products.⁶³⁶ Such a display method was adopted by the Art Museum in Okazaki park, which had seasonal displays of the New Year, the Girls Festival, Boys Festival, and Tanabata Festival.⁶³⁷ Dealers in antiques also benefited from their display strategies and similarly represented Japanese culture on show. Brinkley recommends readers of the catalogue of the Kyoto Industrial Exhibition 1895 to visit Hayashi Shinsuke's 'beautiful show-rooms'.⁶³⁸

The private art exhibition for Prince Arthur Connaught not only showed objects but involved performance. Senno Sōsa and Sōtan, tea masters of the Omotesenke school, presented whipped tea to the Prince.⁶³⁹ After an hour of viewing, Japanese artists created paintings in front of the Prince and he purchased works from two female artists, Maeda Gyokuei 前田玉英 and Uemura Shōen 上村松園 (1875–1949).⁶⁴⁰ Tea drinking and live drawing were a part of activities in gatherings called *shogakai* during the Edo period. Robert Campbell defines *shogakai* as a gathering where artists create calligraphies, paintings, and poems for

⁶³⁴ Ashmore, 'Liberty's Orient. McDermott, 'Meiji Kyoto Textile Art and Takashimaya'.

⁶³⁵ Sapin, 'Merchandising Art and Identity in Meiji Japan', 319.

⁶³⁶ Sapin, 319.

⁶³⁷ 'Bijutsukan no osekku kazari 美術館の御節句飾', *KHS*, 29 March 1906, 1.

⁶³⁸ Brinkley, *The Kyoto Industrial Exhibition of 1895*, 119.

⁶³⁹ 'Eikōsei gokankō (sakujitsu gogo) 英皇甥御觀光 (昨日午後)', *KHS*, 10 March 1906, 2.

⁶⁴⁰ *Ibid.* The Japanese artists included Kawamura Manshū 川村曼舟, Nishiyama Suishō 西山翠嶂, and Kakakita Kaho 川北霞峰.

the general public on the spot, carefully entertaining them with music, drink, and meals.⁶⁴¹ The first recorded *shogakai* for the public was held on the 25th day of the fourth month in Kansei 1 (1789) at Ginkakuji temple in Higashiyama to commemorate Ashikaga Yoshimasa's death.⁶⁴² Higashiyama continued to be a preferred venue for *shogakai* in the eighteenth–nineteenth centuries.⁶⁴³

These live performance of traditional culture and art had already been adopted in domestic and international exhibitions in the Meiji era. Alice Roosevelt, who visited Kyoto in 1905 experienced a tea ceremony at the St. Louis International Exhibition in 1904.⁶⁴⁴ At the International Exhibition, the daughter of the U.S. president was among the special guests to 'the Japanese salon and tearoom, which have been erected and furnished by the merchants of Kyoto' at the opening party of the salon.⁶⁴⁵ *The St. Louis Republic* describes the interiors and architecture as the representation of 'the highest type of Japanese workmanship and decoration'.⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴¹ Robert Campbell, 'Kanshō no nagare shogakai 4seki i 1: Ginkakuji Higashiyama dono 300 kaiki 観照のながれ 書画会四席その一 銀閣寺東山殿三百回忌', *Bungaku* 文学 8, no. 2 (1997), 140.

⁶⁴² Campbell, 141.

⁶⁴³ Timothy Clark, 'The Jakuchū Memorial Exhibition of 1885', in *The Artist in Edo*, ed. Yukio Lippit, Studies in the History of Art 80 (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2018), 250. Aimi Kōu 相見香雨 (1915), 'Higashiyama no shogakai 東山の書画会', in *Aimi Kōu shū* 相見香雨集, ed. Nakano Mitsutoshi 中野三敏 and Kikutake Jun'ichi 菊竹淳一, *Nihon shoshigaku taikei* 日本書誌学大系; 45(3) (Tokyo: Seishōdō Shoten 青裳堂書店, 1985), 348.

⁶⁴⁴ Hayashiya, *Koto no kindai*, 129. 'Nihon chakai to Rūzuberuto jō 日本茶会とルーズベルト嬢', *KHS*, 28 July 1905, 4. Kyoto Hinode Shimbun translated the article of *St. Louis Republic* published in the previous year. 'Foreigners at the fair greet Miss Roosevelt', *The St. Louis Republic*, 29 May 1904, 1.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid.

For tea practitioners, merchants, and foreigners interested in Japanese culture, tea served as a mutual interest at exhibitions in Kyoto and abroad. It was also in 1905 that Helen, Grace, and Florence Scofield, three sisters from New York, visited Kyoto to learn chanoyu from Ennōsai 圓能齋 Sōshitsu (1872–1924), the tea master of Urasenke school.⁶⁴⁷ The very first foreign students stayed at Ya’ami Hotel and participated in a tea gathering at the Ōmura family’s house with Sōshitsu.⁶⁴⁸ The New Yorkers were also reported to have bought many tea utensils.⁶⁴⁹

The local media intensively covered the programmes prepared by the city and dealers for the British dignities, the visitors’ reaction to the welcome package, and even their private shopping on streets and in hotels. As a result, the citizens in Kyoto were all aware of the activities of the foreign guests. On the 1st March 1906, the Prince and his party departed their accommodation, the Miyako Hotel, at 9 am and visited Kōdaiji and Kiyomizu-dera temples. He bought ceramics at Yasuda Tōzaburō 安田藤三郎’s shop at Gojōzaka. After visiting Yasaka shrine and Chion’in temple, he saw the display of arts at Ikeda Seisuke’s shop at Shinmonzen.⁶⁵⁰ Lord Redesdale, who accompanied the Garter Mission tells of his astonishment at omnipresent local reporters.

The newspaper reporter was ubiquitous. The next morning [of shopping at Hayashi’s shop] all Kyoto was informed that at Hayashi’s shop I had bought two screens painted by Kanō Eitoku and at what price, together with a vase of Chinese cloisonné enamel. Such is fame!⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁷ Tsutsui Hiroichi 筒井紘一, ‘Kindai chaka no fukkatsu 近代茶家の復活’, in *Kindai* 近代, ed. Chanoyu Bunka Gakkai 茶の湯文化学会, *Kōza Nihon chanoyu zenshi* 講座日本茶の湯全史 3 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan 思文閣出版, 2013), 103. According to Tsutsui, Sōshitsu’s brother in law Nishi Takasada (b.1881), who worked for a trading company, introduced the Americans to the tea master.

⁶⁴⁸ ‘Beikoku reijōno Ōmura ke hōmon: March zuki no shimai 3 nin 米国令嬢の大村家訪問 (抹茶好きの姉妹三人)’, *KHS*, 22 April 1905, 7.

⁶⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁰ ‘Eikōsei no gokankō’, *KHS*, 2 March 1906, 1

⁶⁵¹ Lord Redesdale, *The Garter Mission to Japan*, 183.

Featured in such media, foreign visitors who viewed and shopped for arts and products in Kyoto, in turn, were consumed as interesting topics by the citizens. Japanese great curiosity extended to the reproduction of Prince Arthur's signature in Takashimaya department store's guest book on the top page of *KHS*.⁶⁵² Other important guests from overseas went on similar travel itineraries, visiting famous places and shopping. In January 1907, Prince Valdemar of Denmark (1858–1939), his nephew Prince George of Greece and Denmark (1869–1957) and their group visited Kyoto. Prince Valdemar spent over 11,350 yen for a variety of artworks while Prince George purchased a few pieces from Hayashi Shinsuke and other shops.⁶⁵³

Kyoto dealers' expertise in display was further demonstrated in a private space. Interestingly, each day the famous dealer Yamanaka arranged a display in the Prince's guest room at the Miyako Hotel.⁶⁵⁴ In a planning stage, the company proposed interior decoration in Ashikaga style (Muromachi period style), Tokugawa style (Edo period style), 'whipped tea style' and 'steeped tea style' or themed in seasonal festivals. This cultural decoration of the hotel reminds us of the Japanese Pavilion at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago of 1893. The north wing was built in the Fujiwara style (Heian period style) while the south wing was in the Ashikaga style, and the heart of the building replicated rooms of the Edo castle.⁶⁵⁵ The cultural diplomatic tactic at the international spectacle was adopted in the

⁶⁵² 'Eikōsei denka onjikihitsu: Takashimaya no hōmeiroku ni jisho sareshi mono 英皇甥殿下御筆跡 高島屋の芳名録に自署されし者', *KHS*, 12 March 1906, 1.

⁶⁵³ 'Ryōkoku kihin no gonyūroku 両国貴賓の御入洛', *KHS*, 6 Jan 1907, 2. Valdemar spent as much as 7600 yen at Ikeda Sseisuke's shop.

⁶⁵⁴ 'Kihin goryokan no setsubi 貴賓御旅館の設備', *KHS*, 28 February, 1906, 2. Yamamoto Masako 山本真紗子, 'Bijutsu shō Yamanaka shōkai: kaigai shinshutsu izen no katsudō wo megutte 美術商山中商会: 海外進出以前の活動をめぐって [Yamanaka & Company: outline of ventures before overseas activities]', *Core ethics* 4 (2008): 378–379.

⁶⁵⁵ Judith Snodgrass, 'Exhibiting Meiji Modernity: Japanese Art at the Columbian Exposition', *East Asian History*, no. 31 (2006), 86.

intimate private sphere in Kyoto by local merchants. It is important to note that display in the two styles of tea was recognised as a part of such strategic display of Japanese or regional cultures to impress the foreign guests.

The source of Marsham's collection and the routes of his sightseeing and collecting overlap with those of the foreign dignities recorded in local newspapers in 1905–6. The series of interactions between the visitors and Kyoto citizens demonstrates the unique local contexts for collecting/shopping of the time. Firstly, the display of either old or new arts, including tea, was a core part of Kyoto's diplomacy to highlight Kyoto's production of arts and the richness of the culture. Secondly, Ōmiya palace, temples and hotels were used as the venues of displays exclusively for the VIPs. Thirdly, the preparations for displaying objects were made possible by private dealers. Through this strong connection between commerce and politics, guests visited the merchants' stores and bought old and new works and products according to their preference.

5.2 Gatherings in Higashiyama

Landscape Development and Gatherings

In the late nineteenth century, Higashiyama saw a series of constructions of gardens and villas as venues for private gatherings.⁶⁵⁶ The predecessor of Miyako Hotel, Yoshimizuen (Yoshimizu Park), was founded in 1890 as a venue for gatherings with various purposes, exploiting lands formerly possessed by Shōren'in temple.⁶⁵⁷ Ya'ami Hotel, another famous

⁶⁵⁶ Yagasaki Zentarō 矢ヶ崎善太郎, 'Kindai sukisha no cha to suki kūkan 近代数寄者の茶と数寄空間', in *Kindai 近代*, ed. Chanoyu Bunka Gakkai 茶の湯文化学会, Kōza Nihon chanoyu zenshi 日本茶の湯全史 3 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan 思文閣出版, 2013), 111–42.

⁶⁵⁷ Miyako Hotel, *Miyako Hotel 100 nenshi*, 2.

western-style hotel in Higashiyama, also developed from a venue for literati gatherings. In the mid-late Edo period, literati artists gathered at the Ya'ami, one of the small temples at Anyōji temple to view and create artworks, enjoy meals, and tea. Yoshimizuen fully utilized the landscape of Higashiyama to enhance the view of the park and beyond. In March 1895, Tomioka Tessai, a literati artist and Confucian scholar, enjoyed a visit to the park with his friend the painter Taniguchi Kōkyō 谷口香嶠 (1864–1915). Having enjoyed their meal at the pavilion in the park with the owner of Yoshimizuen, Tessai selected *Yoshimizuen Hakkei* or *Eight Views of Yoshimizuen* (Fig. 101).

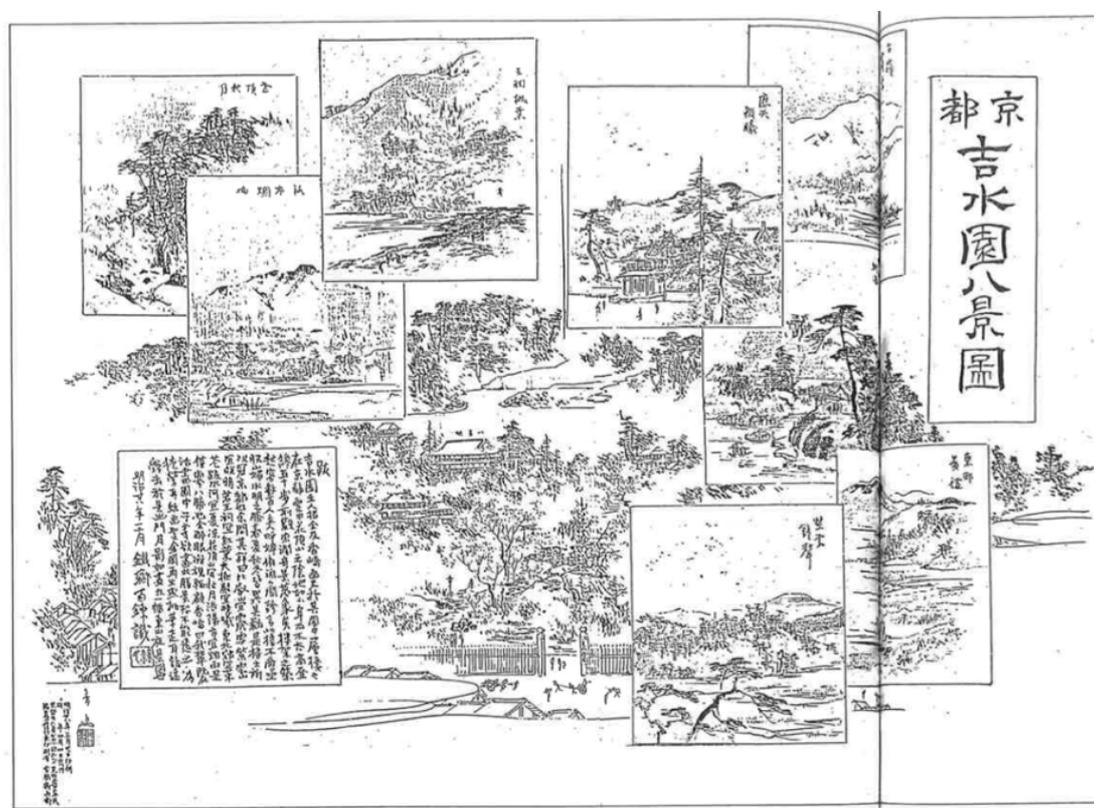


Fig. 101 Inscription by Tomioka Tessai, painting by Taniguchi Kōkyō, 'Eight Views of Kyoto Yoshimizuen', 1895.

The Eight Views was depicted by Kōkyō and inscribed by Tessai, which was printed in woodblock and presented to the visitors for three days from 8th April 1895 to commemorate the anniversary of the opening of the park.⁶⁵⁸ Covering four seasons from morning to evening

⁶⁵⁸ Miyako Hotel, 7.

in different weather, Tessai picked two contemporary monuments in his selection of Eight Views. One, Taikyokuden, was reconstructed for Heian Jingū in 1895 (Fig. 102). The other, Biwako Canal, was established a few years before that (Fig. 103).⁶⁵⁹

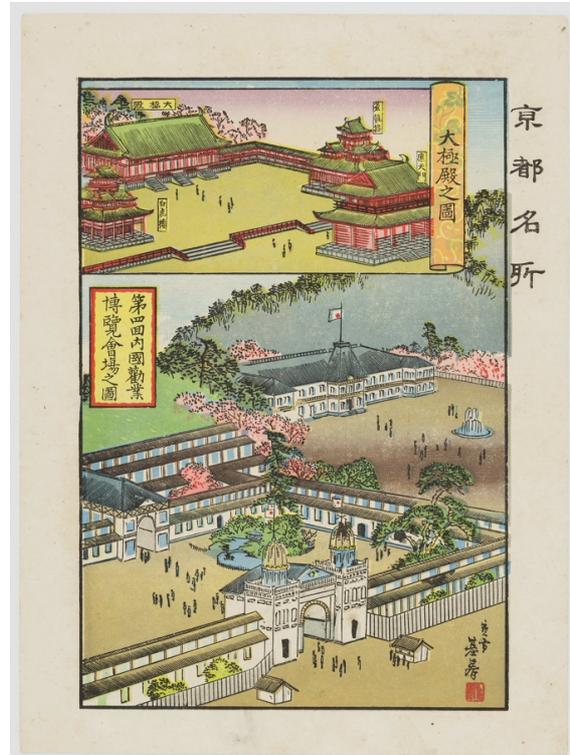


Fig. 102 Hayashi Motoharu, 'Taikyokuden and the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exhibition', c.1895.



Fig. 103 Hirose Fūsai, 'Chion'in True-view and Canal Incline', 1898.

⁶⁵⁹ Both monuments represent the urban development of Higashiyama. See Nakagawa Osamu 中川理, *Kyōto no Kindai: Semegiau toshi kūkan no rekishi* 京都の近代 せめぎ合う都市空間の歴史 (Tokyo: Kajima Shuppankai 鹿島出版会, 2015), 51–66.

The development of villas in this area is another aspect of the development of the Miyako Hotel.⁶⁶⁰ Yamagata Aritomo 山縣有朋 (1838–1922)’s Murin-an 無鄰菴, created in 1894–1896, is representative of the villas of Nanzenji area in Higashiyama.⁶⁶¹ This politician, who led the Biwako canal project, sourced a stream from the canal into his garden (Fig. 104).⁶⁶²



Fig. 104 Garden overlooking Higashiyama main mountain, Murin-an, Kyoto, 2016.

Similar to Yoshimizu-en, the Murinan garden was developed to integrate the entire scenery of Higashiyama.⁶⁶³ On 21 April 1903, Yamagata discussed the starting of the Russo-Japan war with Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文, Komura Jutarō 小村寿太郎, and Katsura Tarō 桂太郎 at the reception room with combined Western-style and Japanese design in the Murin-an (Fig. 105).

⁶⁶⁰ Professor Nakagawa Osamu suggested me the connection between Miyako Hotel and villas in Okazaki at an international workshop ‘Reconceptualizing *Meisho*: Topography, Memory, and Representation’, Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, MA, 31 October 2018.

⁶⁶¹ Kyoto-shi ed, *Sakyō ku* 左京区, vol. 8, *Shiryō Kyoto no rekishi* 史料 京都の歴史, 1979, 141. Nakagawa, *Kyōto no Kindai*, 70–3.

⁶⁶² The famous gardener Ogawa Jihei VII (1860–1933) was commissioned to design this garden. He also created Aoi-den garden for the Miyako Hotel in 1933. Ueyakato Landscape, ‘The Westin Miyako Kyoto | UEYAKATO LANDSCAPE’, accessed 9 June 2019, <https://ueyakato.jp/en/gardens/westin-miyako/>.

⁶⁶³ Kyoto-shi ed., *Sakyō ku*, 141.

Yamagata also enjoyed tea at a terraced teahouse in his villa, viewing the picturesque scenery.⁶⁶⁴ Both Yoshomizuen and Murinan made full use of the local topography, integrating new technologies for poetic and political gatherings.



Fig. 105 Room used for the Murin-an conference, Murin-an, Kyoto.

Dealers at Tea Gatherings

Hayashi Shinsuke was among the Kyoto dealers who were actively involved with tea gatherings. Along with art aficionados, dealers were core members of societies for steeped tea gatherings that were founded by the mid-Meiji era in three major cities: Shumpūdō 春風堂 in Tokyo, Senshundō 先春堂 in Kyoto, and Shōryūdō 昌隆堂 in Osaka.⁶⁶⁵ In Kyoto, gatherings were preferably held at temples and restaurants surrounded by picturesque scenery in the Maruyama and Gion areas of Higashiyama as they had been in the Edo period.⁶⁶⁶ Thus,

⁶⁶⁴ Yagasaki, 'Kindai sukisha no cha to suki kūkan', 126.

⁶⁶⁵ Fumoto Kazuyoshi 麓和善, 'Sencha kūkan: sono bunkenshiteki tokushitsu 煎茶空間：その文化史的特質', in *Chashitsu, Roji* 茶室・露地, ed. Nakamura Toshinori 中村利則, *Chadōgaku taikei* 茶道学大系 6 (Kyoto-shi: Tankōsha, 2000), 218. Seikadō Bunko Art Museum 静嘉堂文庫美術館, ed., *Sencha dōgu kanshō no tebiki* 煎茶道具観賞の手引き (Tokyo: Seikadō Bunko Art Museum 静嘉堂文庫美術館, 2015), 21.

⁶⁶⁶ Fumoto, 227.

it is natural that Kyoto dealers were active participants as well as organizers.⁶⁶⁷ For example, on 12 March 1906, Hayashi curated the fourth setting for Heian-kai (Heian circle)'s spring tea gathering at Tamagawarō at Kiyamachi Nijō kudarū.⁶⁶⁸ Hosts of gatherings constructed symbolic social spaces by selecting and arranging arts and utensils according to the objective of the events. Therefore, for dealers, preparing settings for tea can demonstrate their expertise, taste, and the range and quality of their articles/artworks for sale. Such settings not only inspired participants but also created commercial opportunities. In 1905, Tsuchihashi Eishōdō 土橋永昌堂, an art dealer at Shinmonzen, Higashiyama opened a branch at Shijō street.⁶⁶⁹ To celebrate this opening, they held a steeped tea gathering with their articles, which were sold two days later.⁶⁷⁰ Although promotional aspects of dealers' tea gatherings received criticism, their stocks of artworks must have stimulated the desire for displaying and collecting arts.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁷ For example, on 6–7 November 1875, Kumagai Naoyuki (1843–1907) of Kyūkyodō, the ink and incense dealer in Kyoto commemorated the death of his father Kumagai Suikō by steeped tea gatherings. Three volumes of catalogues were published for the commemoration in 1876, which record around 500 works of calligraphies and paintings brought by collectors from different cities as well as the objects and settings for 26 steeped tea gatherings held at Maruyama. In 1879, Sugita Naotsuna 杉田直綱, an antique dealer of Raisandō 萊山堂 held a memorial service in the form of steeped tea gatherings for his predecessor Sugita Chikkō. The venues include Chion'in temple and Nakamurarō, a famous restaurant in Gion until today. See Fumoto, 217–9. Kumagai Naoyuki, *Maruyama shōkai zuroku*, 3 vols (Kyoto: Kumagai Kyūbei, 1876).

⁶⁶⁸ Mura むら, 'Shunki Heiankai no meien 春季平安会の名筵', *KHS*, 12 March 1906, 5. Akiiro 秋色, 'Miyako meisho no chaen 都名所の茶筵', *KHS*, 9 August 1907, 7. 'Yōchikai no meien 幼稚会の名筵', *KHS*, 16 November, 1907, 7. There is another active society called Yōchikai which held tea gatherings.

⁶⁶⁹ 'Eishōdō shiten no meien 永昌堂支店の茗筵', *KHS*, 21 September 1905, 7.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.* The first room at *machiai* displayed scholar's items for studio and paintings including Tani Bunchō's Bamboo in rain. The second room is the main room for steeped tea display. The third room is the exhibition of new paintings and bonsai and flower vases. The fourth room display old and new paintings and bonsai.

⁶⁷¹ Tsukuda Ikki 佃一輝, 'Bunraku Uemura Katei no meien wo yomu 文楽・植村霞亭の茗筵を読む', *Nomura Bijutsukan Kenkyū kiyō* 野村美術館研究紀要 16 (2007), 37. Tsukuda claims that curation of a steeped tea gathering as an artwork, and positively evaluates dealers' gatherings for their aesthetic taste and rich materials that they used.

Hayashi's involvement in tea gatherings and auctions for tea utensils must have an impact on Marsham's understanding of steeped tea as a living important culture of Japan. Recorded examples of Hayashi's settings for tea in the 1900s imply how utensils in the Marsham collection were used in local contexts. In November 1907, Iwata Shūchikudō 岩田秋竹堂 held a massive tea gathering to remember his deceased predecessor, welcoming over 1,000 guests at 20 venues including Nakamurarō in Gion and Saami, a restaurant formerly a *tacchū* of An'yōji temple in Maruyama.⁶⁷² Entitled by Tomioka Tessai's brush, this gathering was published as *Higashiyama chakai zuroku* 東山茶会図録 (the Illustrated Catalogue of Higashiyama Tea Gatherings).⁶⁷³ This catalogue provides textual records of objects and illustrations for the 12th setting curated by Hayashi at Hakusuirō (White Water Pavilion), Makuzugahara in Higashiyama.⁶⁷⁴ In the first room (*zenseki*) for the display of calligraphy, paintings and scholarly items, Maruyama Ōkyo (1733–1795)'s hanging scroll of Daruma (Bodhidharma) and Tani Bunchō (1763–1840)'s album of landscapes were displayed (Fig. 106).⁶⁷⁵ In the main room (*honseki*) where tea was prepared and served, Aoki Mokubei's hanging scroll of landscape was shown on the wall. Mokubei's earthenware brazier was used for boiling water (Fig. 107).⁶⁷⁶ The Marsham collection includes Mokubei's teapot, which derived from certain Okada and Takagi families (Fig. 108). Marsham could have been told how objects were used in tea settings by Hayashi.

⁶⁷² Fumoto, 'Sencha kūkan sono bunkenshiteki tokushitsu', 220.

⁶⁷³ Iwata Kahei 岩田嘉兵衛, *Higashiyama chakai zuroku* 東山茶会図録, 4 vols (Kyoto: Iwata shūchikudō 岩田秋竹堂, 1908).

⁶⁷⁴ Iwata, *Higashiyama chakai zuroku*, vol.3, 13–15. Kuroda Tengai 黒田天外, 'Iwata Shūchikudō tsuisenkai 岩田秋竹堂追薦会 2', *KHS*, 12 November 1907, 2.

⁶⁷⁵ Iwata, *Higashiyama chakai zuroku*, vol.3, 13ウ–14ア.

⁶⁷⁶ Iwata, *Higashiyama chakai zuroku*, vol.3, 15ア.

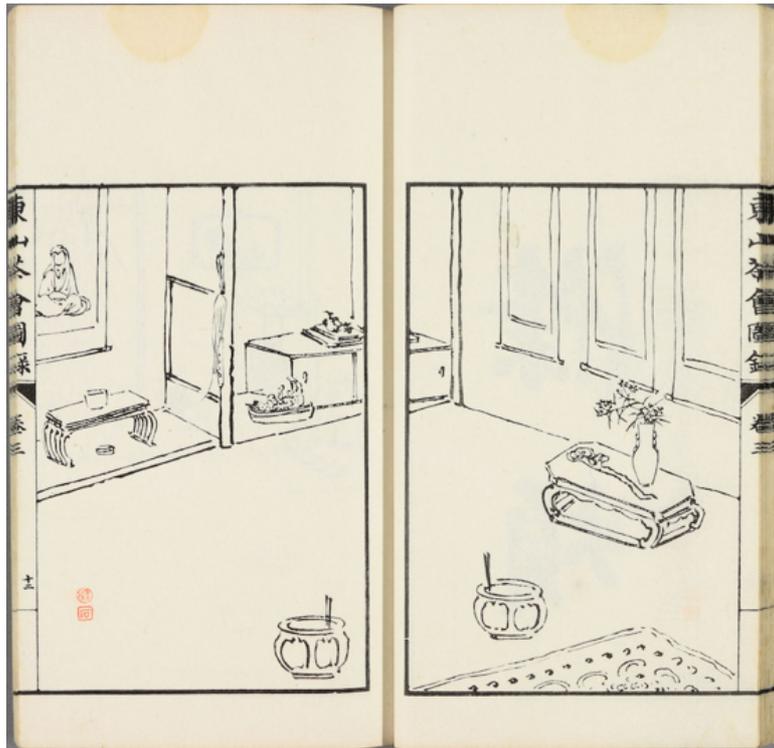


Fig. 106 Setting curated by Hayashi Shinsuke at Higashiyama tea gathering in 1907.

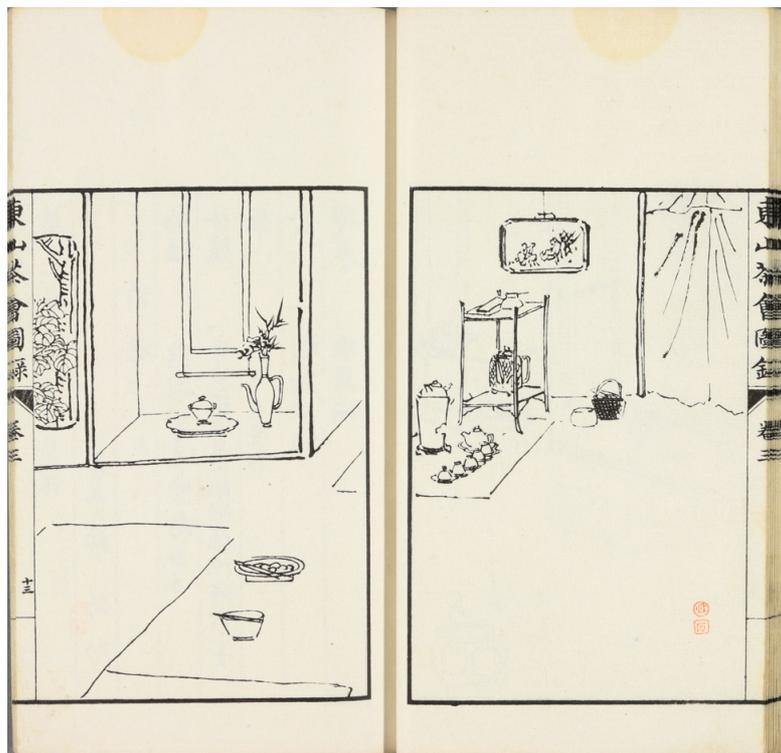


Fig. 107 The main setting curated by Hayashi Shinsuke at Higashiyama tea gathering in 1907.



Fig. 108 Aoki Mokubei, Teapot with animal design, nineteenth century, Marsham collection.

However, it is also important to note that the main utensils used in Hayashi's setting in 1906 were mainly Chinese, reflecting the Sinophile nature of steeped tea gatherings, the boom in Chinese things in the Japanese market of the time, and Hayashi's strength in dealing Chinese objects. In April 1906, Hayashi and other dealers organised an auction of a certain Funabashi collection of 180 pieces at Nakamurarō.⁶⁷⁷ The collection included Sesshū's landscape painting, Kanō Tan'yū's painting of Kannon, Ike no Taiga's painting of a tree and cloud, an Asahi ware tea bowl for whipped tea, and a Chinese storage box for a steeped tea set, and Yixing teapots.⁶⁷⁸ In this auction, the highest price was given to the Chinese storage box for steeped tea utensils with mother of pearl inlay at 4,151 yen, followed by Taiga's painting at 3,710 yen and Yixing *gurindama* teapots for 3,159 yen.⁶⁷⁹ The economic value of the collection became 10 to 50 times higher than when Funabashi bought objects over 30 years

⁶⁷⁷ 'Funabashi shi no kottōichi 船橋氏の骨董市', *KHS*, 28 March 1906, 7. Funabashi sold his collection to fund scholarships for students in Aomori prefecture, where his ancestors came from.

⁶⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷⁹ 'Shoga kottō no kōkyō 書画骨董の好況', *KHS*, 7 April 1906, 7. The price value of Japanese yen in 1906 is about 1192.5 times higher than that of 2019 according to corporate price index. Bank of Japan, Bank of Japan, accessed 18 October 2020, <https://www.boj.or.jp/announcements/education/oshiete/history/j12.htm/>.

ago.⁶⁸⁰ The result of the auction demonstrates how steeped tea gatherings were in fashion at that time and the market was booming. Besides Chinese objects circulating within Japan, Hayashi was a top buyer of newly imported Chinese objects from Mayuyama Matsutarō, a well-known dealer in Chinese art, who went to Beijing in 1905.⁶⁸¹

Hayashi had a dual dealership for foreign and domestic customers when Marsham was developing his collection. The dealer circulated tea utensils for the two markets but sold different types of objects. The preference for Chinese objects in the Japanese steeped tea market is a characteristic, which differentiated the direction of Marsham's collection which was composed of a variety of ceramic works made in kilns across Japan. Similarly, whipped tea utensils were also bought by foreign customers and domestic tea practitioners. However, the Japanese domestic market fuelled the rise in price for works made by renowned master potters and works with special provenance. Marsham witnessed the inflated Japanese art market for particular whipped tea utensils, but he kept a distance from them probably because his intensive collecting was coming to the end. He noted his surprise about the high price of Nonomura Ninsei's tea bowl in his letter from 14 December 1906 to the curator of the Maidstone Museum.

Fine & rare things are very expensive now; recently a Ninsei tea ceremony cup was bought at auction for £ 1600 (sterling). I was not the purchaser.⁶⁸²

⁶⁸⁰ 'Shoga kottō no kōkyō'.

⁶⁸¹ Tomita Noboru 富田昇, *Jindai Riben de Zhongguo yishupin liuzhuan yu jianshang* 近代日本の中国艺术品流转与鉴赏, trans. Zhao Xiumin 赵秀敏 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe 上海书画出版社, 2014), 84. Among the top 19 most expensive Chinese articles of Mayuyama's deal in 1905–1909, Hayashi purchased eight objects followed by Jintsū Yoshitarō and Yamanaka Sadajirō. For example, in 1908, Hayashi bought a Longquan incense burner at 4,000 yen from Maruyama who acquired it by 1,000 yen. Tomita's work is based on Mayuyama's sales record of over 600 objects with the names of purchasers in 1905–1909.

⁶⁸² Letter from Henry Marsham to J. H. Allchin, 14 December 1906, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum, Kent. Appendix B, Transcript 22.

The duality of the two markets in teaware shows the maturity of the Japanese art market in the 1900s, which departed from the reliance on foreign customers. This corresponds to the shift from internationalism in the revival of whipped tea gatherings in the 1870–80s to the increasing popularity of ‘traditional’ culture among the Japanese afterwards. For the Kyoto Exhibition in 1872, Uemura Masanao 植村正直 (1834–1896), then governor of Kyoto Prefecture, asked the Urasenke school to prepare a whipped tea setting to accommodate foreign visitors.⁶⁸³ This resulted in the birth of the *ryūrei* style of serving whipped tea with tables and chairs.⁶⁸⁴

Besides domestic and international exhibitions, clubhouses in Tokyo had comparable functions in developing whipped tea for an international audience. Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore (1856–1928), an American writer travelling in Japan in the second half of the 1880s records that Rokumeikan (Deer Cry Pavilion or as she calls ‘Tokio Nobles’ Club’) had rooms for chanoyu.⁶⁸⁵ ‘To get some insight into a curious phase of Japanese social life’, she had an apprenticeship under Matsuda Munesada 松田宗貞, a tea master of the Omotesenke school at Hoshigaoka Charyō with three other foreign pupils.⁶⁸⁶ In 1884, this Hoshigaoka clubhouse was built in modern *sukiya*-style architecture at Kōjimachi park, which modelled the scenery of Maruyama in East Kyoto.⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁸³ Hayashiya, *Koto no kindai*, 245.

⁶⁸⁴ Hayashiya, 245. Tsutsui, ‘Kindai chaka no fukkatsu’, 98. Tsutsui assumes that Gengensai already invented *ryūrei* style for the presentation of tea at the Imperial Palace at the end of Edo period before its adaptation at the Kyoto Exhibition.

⁶⁸⁵ Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore, *Jinrikisha Days in Japan*, revised ed (New York: Harper, 1902), 86.

⁶⁸⁶ Scidmore, *Jinrikisha Days in Japan*, 92.

⁶⁸⁷ Kirisako Kunio 桐浴邦夫, ‘Sōsōki ni okeru Hoshigaoka charyō nitsuite: Hoshigaoka charyō no kenchiku no kenkyū sono2 創設期における星岡茶寮について: 星岡茶寮の建築の研究 その2’, *Journal of Architecture and Planning (Transactions of AIJ)* 63, no. 512 (1998): 254. The Hoshigaoka charyō was opened in 1884.

There could be no more charming place in which to study the etiquette of tea drinking, and the master was one of those mellow, gentle, gracious men of old Japan, who are the perfect flower of generations of culture and refinement in that most aesthetic country of the world. In the afternoon and evening the Hoshigaoka, on the apex of Sanno hill, is the resort of the nobles, scholars, and literary men, who compose its membership, but in the morning hours, it is all dappled shadow and quiet.⁶⁸⁸

As Kirisako Kunio analysed, Hoshigaoka Charyō demonstrated how reviving whipped tea in the early stage was empowered in the openness of the way of socialising and its architectural style while it advocated the spirituality of tea, the core of modern chanoyu, by building the Hall of Rikyū.⁶⁸⁹ The clubhouse is also known to have received support from the Mitsui circle, nobles, and Senke schools, who played important roles in reviving whipped tea among the Japanese.⁶⁹⁰ In 1892, the tea house became the venue for the first modern sale of tea utensils as a mortgage sale organized by Mitsui Bank, in which Takahashi Yoshio 高橋義雄 (Sōan 箒庵 1861–1937) was involved.⁶⁹¹ Whipped tea at Hoshigaoka encapsulates the social customs, art, scenery and commerce, which was an immersive preview of ‘Old Japan’ for the American visitor and an experiment in a new style of traditional culture for the Japanese. What Scidmore experienced at a small Maruyama in Tokyo is suggestive for understanding the multidimensionality of Higashiyama, a regional complex for gatherings for both locals and foreigners.

⁶⁸⁸ Scidmore, 92.

⁶⁸⁹ Kirisako, 257–8.

⁶⁹⁰ Kirisato, 254. Kirisato Kunio 桐浴邦夫, ‘Tokyo-fu no kōen un’ei to Hoshigaoka charyō no kensetsu keii: Hoshigaoka charyō no kenkyū 東京府の公園経営と星岡茶寮の建設経: 星岡茶寮の建築の研究’, *Journal of Architecture and Planning (Transactions of AIJ)* 62, no. 491 (1997), 213.

⁶⁹¹ Takahashi Yoshio 高橋義雄, *Houki no ato 箒のあと*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Shūhōen 秋豊園, 1933), 215.

Tea in Private Life: Tea Utensils and ‘Old School’

Dear Sir

I enclose bills of lading for 3 cases containing pottery which are on the way to London. Also a list of contents giving some information as to where the pieces hail from, approximate age and in some instances, the names of the potter who made them. Most of these pieces are connected with the tea ceremony and the tea ceremony occupies a place in the life of the cultured Japanese of the old school of the first importance. The names of the pieces used in the ceremony are as follows.⁶⁹²

In a letter sent in 1906 to the Maidstone Museum, Marsham clearly states that he mainly collected ceramics for the ‘tea ceremony’. He rationalises his choice through the association with ‘the cultured Japanese of the old school of the first importance’. This understanding of tea culture is distinct from how Funk observed the tea ceremony as a disappearing culture in 1870s Japan, and how Franks contextualised tea utensils accordingly (chapters one and three). Marsham paid attention to whipped tea as well as steeped tea, both of which were popular at gatherings in Kyoto during his stay. Marsham did not explain who were ‘the cultured Japanese’, but it is likely that Marsham’s visits to temples and private houses in the Old Capital formed his understanding of the objects for tea gatherings. He captured a steeped tea set in front of a full bloom of chrysanthemum at a house of a certain Adachi (Fig. 109). This image in Marsham’s album of photography shows that Marsham experienced and developed the understanding of tea from his Japanese friends in an intimate private setting.

⁶⁹² Letter from Henry Marsham to J. H. Allchin, sent with first consignment list of the Marsham collection, 18 February 1906, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum. 1. Appendix B, Transcript 23.

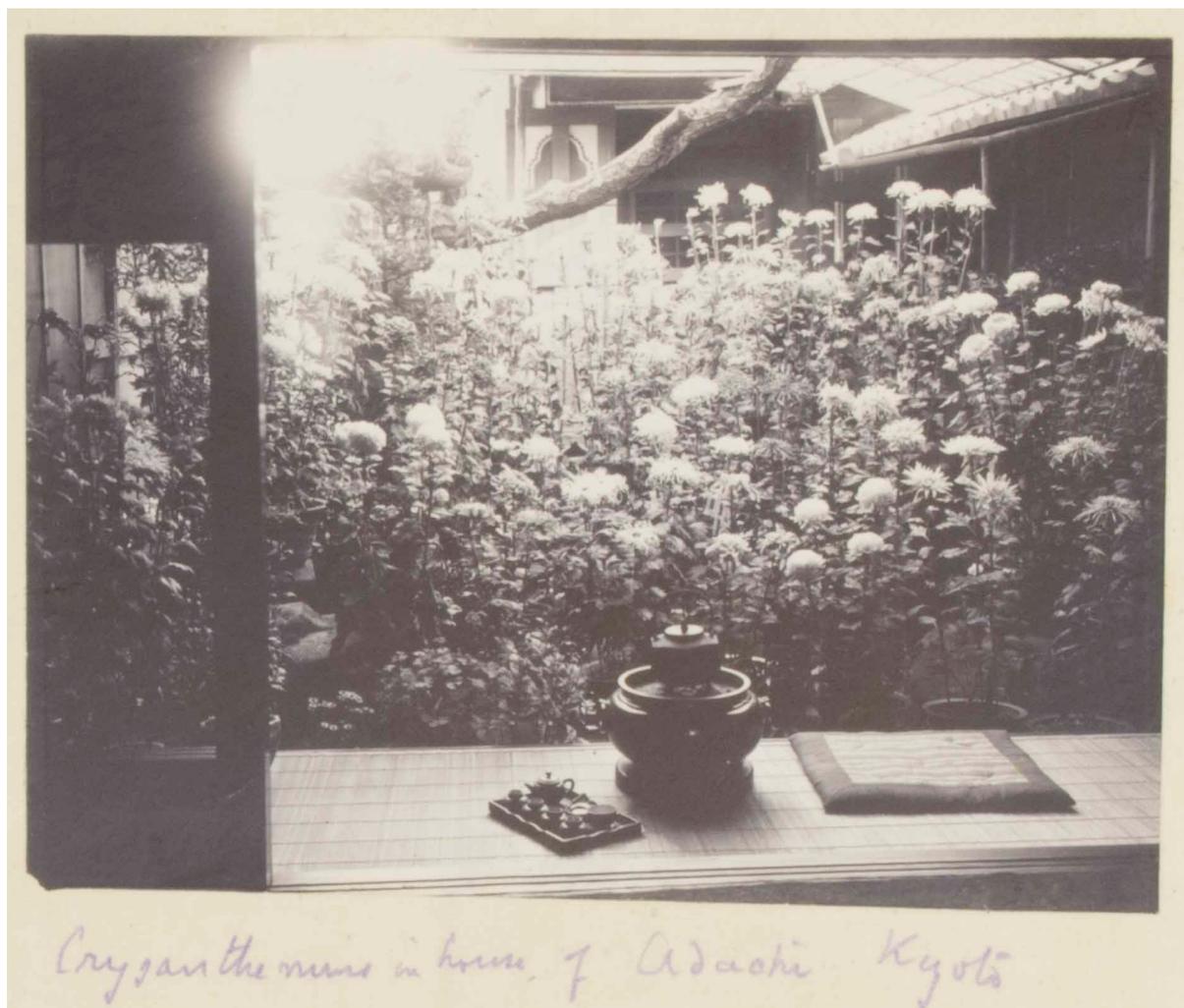


Fig. 109 Annotated by Henry Marsham, Chrysanthemum and steeped tea at the house of Adachi, album of photography (detail), c. 1906.

Again, Scidmore's travel writing suggests how private interactions between a foreign traveller and a local looked. She records that Namikawa Yasuyuki (1845–1927), one of the most celebrated cloisonné artists in the Meiji era, offered her steeped tea at his workshop in Higashiyama.⁶⁹³ Namikawa used his cloisonné cups with a Kyoto ware teapot made in Awata district where his workshop existed. Importantly, the steeped tea was recognised as part of chanoyu or the tea ceremony.

Old Japan seemed to re-live in the atmosphere of that garden, and a cha no yu was no more finished than the simple tea-ceremony the master performed there. . . . The tea-tray, brought and set before the master, bore a tiny jewel-like tea-pot of old Awata, and the tiny cloisonné cups with plain enamelled linings

⁶⁹³ Scidmore, *Jinrikisha Days in Japan*, 286.

were as richly colored as the circle of a tulip's petals, and smaller far. With them was a small pear-shaped dish, not unlike our gravy-boats, a beautiful bronze *midzu tsugi*, or hot-water pot, and a lacquer box holding a metal tea-caddy filled with the finest leaves from Uji tea-gardens. Taking a scoop of yellow ivory, carved in the shape of a giant tea-leaf, our host filled the little tea-pot with loosely-heaped leaves, and having decanted the hot water into the little pear-shaped pitcher to cool a little, poured it upon the tea-leaves.⁶⁹⁴

She also describes chanoyu as 'might well be a religious rite, from the reverence with which it is regarded by the Japanese, and a knowledge of its forms is part of the education of a member of the highest classes' in the chapter on Japanese hospitality.⁶⁹⁵ There is a consensus about the tea ceremony between Marsham and Scidmore that it is a culture from the past and practised by the high class. Also, they use the term 'Old' to describe the practitioners as either 'old school' or a revival of 'Old Japan'. Both of them had contact with people of the class in question, including descendants of the samurai class and nobles. Through travelling in Kyoto, the two travellers witnessed how tea utensils were in use in daily life.

5.3 Artists' Creative Salons

A *tanzaku* (strip of paper) in Marsham's album of paintings reveals that Marsham was in contact not only with potters but also painters (Fig. 110). On the upper part, Tōzan wrote 'Mashiyāmu[sic] shi shuku kichō (Celebrate Mr Marsham's return to Japan)' and below Taniguchi Kōkyō painted a woman (*oharame*) kneeling and preparing firewood for sale in Kyoto. Kōkyō, who previously depicted *Eight Views of Yoshimizu* was one of the most prominent pupils of Kōno Bairei 香野樸嶺 (1844–1895), a Shijō school painter of the Meiji

⁶⁹⁴ Scidmore, 286.

⁶⁹⁵ Scidmore, 91.



era. Similar to Tōzan, Kōkyō studied works of the past for his creations. He was a well-known collector of armour for researching *yūsoku kojitsu*, the study of customs at the imperial court and samurai society.⁶⁹⁶ Kōkyō collected them as the basis for *rekishi-ga*, paintings on historical themes, which became popular among painters in 1887–1906 (Meiji 20s–30s). This term, *rekishi-ga*, was introduced by Fenollosa as a translation for ‘historical painting’, which had been at the top of western art’s subject hierarchy.⁶⁹⁷ While Japanese painters depicted historical themes before the new concept was imported, *rekishi-ga* developed as a new genre of modern Japanese painting in the rise of nationalism⁶⁹⁸ The two artists who were involved in the making of Marsham’s album of paintings appeared in formal and informal creative gatherings to improve contemporary ceramics in the 1900s. This section looks at the role of gatherings for Kyoto artists in the search of new forms of art.

Fig. 110 Itō Tōzan and Taniguchi Kōkyō, Celebration of Marsham’s back to Japan, c.1906.

⁶⁹⁶ Kuroda Yuzuru 黒田譲, *Meika rekihōroku* 名家歴訪録, vol. 2 (Kyoto: Kuroda Yuzuru 黒田譲, 1901), 84–85.

⁶⁹⁷ Fujimoto Manami 藤本真名美, ‘Taniguchi Kōkyō to Kyoto no rekishiga 谷口香嶠と京都の歴史画’, in *Kyoto gadan no Meiji: Meiji 150 nen kinen kikaku ten* 京都画壇の明治: 明治150年記念企画展, ed. Mori Mitsuhiro 森光彦 (Kyoto: Kyoto shi Gakkō Rekishi Hakubutsukan 京都市学校歴史博物館, 2018), 60.

⁶⁹⁸ Fujimoto, 60.

Yūtōen and Kabikai: Kyoto's Design Research Groups and Heritage from the Past

Tōzan and Kōkyō participated in Yūtōen遊陶園, a research group founded in 1903 to improve the design of Kyoto ware.⁶⁹⁹ Led by Nakazawa Iwata 中澤岩太 (1859–1943), the first principal of the Kyoto Institute of Technology, Asai Chū 浅井忠 (1856–1907), a Western-style painter, and Fujie Nagataka 藤江永孝 (1865–1915), the director of Kyoto Ceramic Institute, the group innovated Kyoto's designs which were reputed to be outdated at the 1900 Paris International Exhibition.⁷⁰⁰ Western producers already adopted Japanese models in their Art Nouveau style. Japanese manufactures and artists were required to change their styles for overseas buyers or seek a new market within Japan.

In 1902, Kōkyō visited the first International Exhibition for the Modern Decorative Arts in Turin.⁷⁰¹ His experience of viewing products overseas might have urged him to innovate the methods of designing Kyoto ware. Tōzan experimented with his Awata ware while Kōkyō taught painting at the Kyoto Art School from 1893. The two artists in the frontier of Kyoto's art scene met for the monthly research meeting.⁷⁰² Tōzan and Kōkyō also became members of another design research group called Kabi-kai 佳美会 founded in 1907 and led by Kamisaka Sekka 神坂雪佳 (1866–1942), a Japanese style painter and *zuanka* (designer) who promoted Rimpa-school design for contemporary products.⁷⁰³ Kōkyō's painting of *oharame*

⁶⁹⁹ Nakanodō Kazunobu 中ノ堂一信, *Kyoto yōgeishi* 京都窯芸史 (Kyoto: Tankōsha 淡交社, 1984), 119.

⁷⁰⁰ Namiki Seishi 並木誠士 et al., eds., *Kyoto: Dentō kōgei no kindai* 京都 伝統工芸の近代 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan 思文閣出版, 2012), 118–119.

⁷⁰¹ Fujimoto, 'Taniguchi Kōkyō to Kyoto no rekishiga', 65.

⁷⁰² Namiki et al, *Kyoto: Dentō kōgei no kindai*, 119.

⁷⁰³ Namiki Seishi 並木誠士 and Aoki Mihoko 青木美保子 eds., *Kyoto kindai bijutsu kōgei no nettowāku* 京都近代美術工芸のネットワーク (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan 思文閣出版, 2017), 9, 40, 46. Kabi-kai was later named Katsumi-kai, Katsumi-mura, and merged into Kyōbi-kai. Kōkyō was involved in Kyōbi-kai only in the beginning.

for Marsham, using a soft and simple brush, suggests his inclination for the new design movement. Marsham met the potter and the painter when they were trying to change the art of Kyoto from learning from the past to creating new styles in collaboration with it.

The application of the designs inspired by premodern Japanese arts to contemporary products aligns with the waves of protectionism and revivalism of art in the past from the late nineteenth century. As early as the 1870s, Gottfried Wagener (1831–1892), a German scientist employed by the Japanese government, encouraged Japanese manufactures to protect their ‘earlier styles’ in their products when they were being lost in the production for the export market.⁷⁰⁴ Sano Tsunetami, a Japanese government official founded Bijutsu Himpyōkai (Society for the Appreciation of Art Objects) for artists and producers to learn about antiques, which developed as Ryūchikai.⁷⁰⁵ In 1888, Kōkyō developed his connoisseurship of antiquities while he accompanied Kuki Ryūichi 九鬼隆一 (1852–1931)’s governmental survey of treasures that Meiji Japan inherited from the past.⁷⁰⁶ Tōzan’s revivalist attitude to Awata ware from the 1880s (chapter four) also parallels the nationalistic movement of this time.

During the design reform movement connecting with revivalism, the *tanzaku* was given to Marsham by the two artists who learned Maruyama Shijō school painting. They might have been inspired by the Marsham collection, learning how Kyoto potters and painters in the Edo period created ceramic works together. Whether or not Marsham was aware of it, he

⁷⁰⁴ Jahn, *Meiji Ceramics*, 53.

⁷⁰⁵ Jahn, 38–9.

⁷⁰⁶ Fujimoto, ‘Taniguchi Kōkyō to Kyoto no rekishiga’, 62. Kōkyō not only adopted the fruit of learning the old things into his own works, for the convenience to contemporary production, he contributed illustrations and designs in various publications. For example, Taniguchi Kōkyō 谷口香嶠, *Kōgei zukan 工藝圖鑑*, vol.1 (Kyoto: Tanaka Jihei 田中治兵衛, 1891).

collected the traces of collaboration by Kiyomizu Rokubei I and II with Kyoto painters (Fig. 111, Fig. 112).



Fig. 111 Kiyomizu Rokubei I, designed by Gessen, Tea bowl with design of bat, late eighteenth century, Marsham collection.

Fig. 112 Matsumura Keibun and Kiyomizu Rokubei II, Tea bowl with design of peony, late eighteenth century, Marsham collection.

There is a difference between the pre-modern salon of painters and potters where they work together and the modern research group which modelled the western system of applying *zuan* (designs/patterns) on products in the division of labour. However, the successful joint work of making ceramics with potters and painters in the Edo period must have been the foundation for Kyoto artists to get involved in the modern design movement. As a member of Yūtōen, Kiyomizu Rokubei IV (1848–1920) applied Kōkyō’s modern design of *Rokkasen*, Six waka-poem masters (Fig. 113).⁷⁰⁷ Kōkyō even lived on the first floor (second floor in Japan) of the potter Kiyomizu Rokubei’s house.⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰⁷ Aichi Prefectural Ceramics Museum, *Kiyomizu Rokubei ke: Kyō no hanayagi*, 48. Kiyomizu Rokubei IV (1848–1920) applied Kōkyō’s modern design of *Rokkasen*, six waka-poem masters for Yūtōen.

⁷⁰⁸ Interview with Kiyomizu Rokubei VIII, ‘Kiyomizu Rokubei 清水六兵衛’, Gojōzaka Chawanzaka 五条坂茶碗坂, accessed 10 March 2021, <http://www.gojo-chawanzaka.jp/sakka/kiyomizurokube/index.html>. Nakanodō, *Kyoto yōgeishi*, 274. Rokubei V learned painting under Kōno Bairei with Kōkyō.

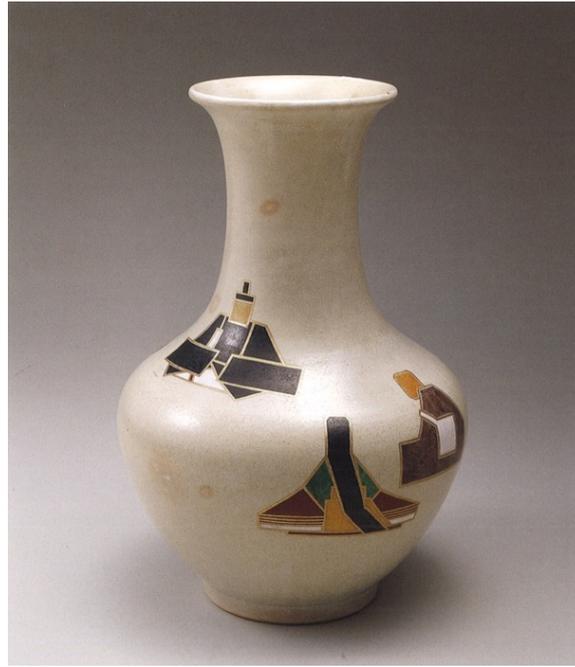


Fig. 113 Kiyomizu Rokubei IV, Vase design by Taniguchi Kōkyō for Yūtōen, 1903-20, private collection.

The Design Club

While research gatherings had an impact on contemporary ceramic production in the 1900s, there were also artistic social gatherings in Higashiyama. Tōzan was an active member of *Ishō kurabu* (Design Club) organised by Kaneko Shizue 金子静江 (1851–1909), a reporter for KHS.⁷⁰⁹ Newspapers in the Meiji era played a powerful role in informing readers about a wide range of topics related to art and industry.⁷¹⁰ Kaneko's articles on their salon-style gatherings show how the art aficionados and creators in Kyoto attempted to develop contemporary arts collaboratively in social settings.

⁷⁰⁹ For Kaneko's biography see Kinoshita Tomotake 木下知威, 'Kaneko Shizue ni mukatte: Meiji 10 nendai no Kaneko Kinji 金子静枝に向かって—明治十年代の金子錦二—', in *'Hinode shinbun' kisha Kaneko Shizue to Meiji no Kyoto: Meiji 21-nen kobijutsu chōsa hōdō kiji wo chūshin ni* 『日出新聞』記者金子静枝と明治の京都—明治二十一年古美術調査報道記事を中心に, ed. Takei Akio 竹居明男 (Tokyo: Unsōdō 芸艸堂, 2013), 9–24.

⁷¹⁰ For Kaneko's reports for national survey of treasures, see Takei Akio 竹居明男, ed., *'Hinode shinbun' kisha Kaneko Shizue to Meiji no Kyoto: Meiji 21-nen Kobijutsu chōsa hōdō kiji wo Chūshin ni* 『日出新聞』記者金子静枝と明治の京都—明治二十一年古美術調査報道記事を中心に (Tokyo: Unsōdō 芸艸堂, 2013).

On 15 November 1905, the Design Club held a monthly meeting at Kaneko's office where 30 members enjoyed drawing and calligraphy with underglaze iron and cobalt blue on the ceramic bodies of steeped teacups prepared by Tōzan.⁷¹¹ This meeting involved discussion in a viewing session for old and new works themed 'fire' brought by the members.⁷¹² The attendees had diverse occupations including the famous metalworker Shōami Katsuyoshi 正阿弥勝義 (1832–1908).⁷¹³ Marsham visited this metalwork artist with Satow in 1906.⁷¹⁴ The atmosphere for the club appears to be relaxed and discussion on old and new works was accompanied with sweets and drinks.⁷¹⁵ Activities of the club remind us of literati and artists' gatherings of the Edo period where participants enjoyed creating, discussion, and tea.⁷¹⁶ Members of the club viewed and created works of arts at picturesque places such as Zenkyōan, Kenninji temple in August and at Kikurinsō in Otsu in September 1907.⁷¹⁷ In fact,

⁷¹¹ Kaneko Shizue 金子静枝, 'Ishō kurabu no reikai 意匠倶楽部の例会', *KHS*, 18 Nov 1905, 4. The newspaper company was located at the point where Sanjō street and Higashinotōin street intersect.

⁷¹² Ibid. The members were not always creative because many of them asked Ōe Ryōki, a professional painter for ceramics to draw for the behalf of them. Kaneko Shizue 金子静枝, 'Ishō kurabu no shokai: jō 意匠倶楽部の初回(上)', *KHS*, 18 Jan 1906, 4. The fired works were provided to the members at the new year meeting.

⁷¹³ Satō Kan'ichi 佐藤貫一, 'Shōami Katsuyoshi ni tsuite: Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan no tokubetsuten ni yoseru 正阿弥勝義について—東京国立博物館の特別展に寄せる—', *Museum*, September 1959, 18. Shōami devoted to the study of art in his retirement in Kyoto from around after 1897.

⁷¹⁴ Satow, *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, British Envoy in Peking (1900–06)*, vol.2, 294.

⁷¹⁵ Kaneko Shizue 金子静枝, 'Ishō kurabu no shokai: ge 意匠倶楽部の初回(下)', *KHS*, 22 Jan 1906, 3.

⁷¹⁶ Andrew Markus, 'Shogakai: Celebrity Banquets of The Late Edo Period', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 53, no. 1 (1993): 135–67. Ai Fukunaga, 'Scholars' Utopia: Rethinking the Display for Sencha in the Late Edo Period', *Andon* 107 (May 2019): 3–14.

⁷¹⁷ 'Ishō kurabu 意匠倶楽部', *KHS*, 18 August 1907, 3.

in the late Edo period, Kenninji functioned as a salon for potters, which provided the opportunity to view ceramics from overseas for their learning.⁷¹⁸

The salon-style gatherings actively incorporated the playfulness of the pre-modern era in their meetings. In February 1906, Kaneko hosted *tōcha* or tea kabuki, a competition of tea guessing.⁷¹⁹ In the gathering, participants guessed the name, quality, and the value of tea leaves for steeped tea and whipped tea. In the next monthly meeting, the club had a competition of a revived old game of guessing types of incense.⁷²⁰ Tōzan's involvement in this club shows that his revivalism of Awata ware had echoes in the wider movement of reviving the tradition in Kyoto not only in research groups but also in artistic circles.

Tōzan's range of activities in different groups shows his various channels for improving his works. Kaneko and Tōzan led the Meiji exhibition culture as a critic and as an exhibiter. That is why they were so serious about trying another direction for the sustainable development of the local culture and industry. The club's activities were the alternative attempts at modern displays for artists and supporters to get inspired based on the natural, historical, and cultural resources inherited from the previous generations. This shows that Meiji revivalism had multiple roots in local initiatives, where playfulness was a key to re-evaluate the past culture

⁷¹⁸ Kyoto National Museum 京都国立博物館, *Akogare no Yōroppa tōji: Maisen, Sēvuru, Minton tono deai* 憧れのヨーロッパ陶磁: マイセン・セーヴル・ミントンとの出会い [Japan's Encounter with European Ceramics: Dreaming of Meissen, Sèvres and Minton] (Osaka: Yomiuri Shinbun Osaka Honsha 読売新聞大阪本社, 2008), 130. For example, in 1859, Takahashi Dōhachi III visited Kenninji to see an English transfer printed dish in the temple's collection.

⁷¹⁹ Kaneko Shizue 金子静枝, 'Ishō kurabu no reikai 意匠倶楽部の例会', *KHS*, 19 February 1906, 4. According to this article, *tōcha* became highly popular in Kyoto at that time and even some people organised such gatherings 12 or 13 times a month.

⁷²⁰ Kaneko Shizue 金子静枝, 'Ishō kurabu no reikai 意匠倶楽部の例会', *KHS*, 19 March 1906, 3; 20 March 1906, 5; 21 March 1906, 5.

in the contemporary scene. The past became a powerful tool to innovate the culture and products at artistic and research gatherings in Kyoto. The connection between Marsham and core members of the revivalist movement implies that Marsham's collecting of the Japanese ceramics of the past might have received attention as a support for their creative direction.

This chapter described how the setting for collecting informed the value making system for tea utensils in the Marsham collection. On the one hand, Higashiyama in the late Meiji period was an international interactive space. On the other hand, the region had been the place of local gatherings, where teaware functioned as utensils for social gatherings, important commercial articles, private hospitality, and experimental media. The next chapter looks at how the institutionalising process of Marsham's collection layered new values onto objects at Maidstone.

Chapter Six: The Marsham Collection at Maidstone

Marsham established his collection in a close relationship with J. H. Allchin, the Curator of the Maidstone Museum. The museum's archive traces the interaction between the collector and the museum from 1 December 1882. Their later correspondences written in 1905–8 demonstrate active and mutual engagements. As his collecting was supported by the institution and the Japanese, the activity in general needs to be situated within a triangular relationship. Even during Marsham's private collecting in Japan, the collector and the curator contacted and engaged with each other to produce a provincial collection of Japanese art in the Kentish Museum. This chapter explores how Marsham's collection of Japanese ceramics for tea gatherings acquired new values in the transition from private to public spheres through institutionalisation, the collector's involvement in curating his collection, and the display and publication of the collection.

6.1 Collecting for the Provincial Museum

Among the relatively small body of literature on provincial museums and exhibitions, Manchester and Liverpool have often attracted scholarly attention. The Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857 was a landmark for a city outside London which succeeded in hosting a large-scale modern exhibition for the first time, exhibiting 16,000 works of art.⁷²¹ This was an initiative of the City of Manchester, not dependent on national financial resources, yet at the same time, it had an impact on the national and international art landscape.⁷²² As this event demonstrates, alternative histories were developing in parallel with the national one and those in the capital city during the Victorian period.

⁷²¹ Elizabeth A. Pergam, *The Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857: Entrepreneurs, Connoisseurs and the Public* (Surrey, UK; Ashgate, 2011).

⁷²² Pergam, 3, 36, 260–325. The objects displayed in the exhibition are now held not only in public museums in Manchester but also other cities from U.K., Europe to North America.

Maidstone Museum

When Marsham was forming his collection, the Maidstone Museum was also developing its contents, functions and facilities. The museum is recognised as one of the earliest municipal museums in Britain following the establishment of the Royal Pavilion, Brighton in 1851, and the McLellan collection, Glasgow in 1854.⁷²³ The history of Maidstone Museum started in 1855 in response to the Public Libraries and Museums Act, first introduced in 1850.⁷²⁴ Studies of provincial museums tend to focus on rising industrial cities where new buildings accommodate their collections.⁷²⁵ However, the Maidstone Museum adopted Chillington Manor House, the Elizabethan building as its main building. This case exemplifies that provincial museums in old towns developed differently from city museums.⁷²⁶

The building and collection of the museum grew throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, combined with other educational facilities such as a library and a technical institute in the 1890s (Fig. 114). In 1908, after a half-century of development, the museum proudly identified itself as an institution that ‘now stands in the front rank of the provincial museums in the United Kingdom.’⁷²⁷

⁷²³ Giles Waterfield, *The People's Galleries: Art Museums and Exhibitions in Britain, 1800–1914* (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2015), 325.

⁷²⁴ Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery, *Brief Illustrated Description, together with a Catalogue of the Bentlif Collection* (Maidstone, 1901), 3.

⁷²⁵ Waterfield, 294.

⁷²⁶ Giles Waterfield, ‘Art Galleries and the Public: A Survey of Three Centuries’, in *Art Treasures of England: The Regional Collections*, ed. Royal Academy of Arts (London: Royal Academy of Arts, in association with Merrell Holberton, 1998), 34. Waterfield, *The People's Galleries*, 291.

⁷²⁷ Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery, *Chillington Manor House [Now the Corporation Museum]*, Maidstone. ([Maidstone], 1908), no page number.



Bentlif
Art Gallery,
A.D. 1890.

Technical School, County Room and Victoria Library, West Wing, East Wing,
A.D. 1894, A.D. 1899, A.D. 1873, A.D. 1869.

Fig. 114 Museum, Victoria Library, and Bentlif Art Gallery, Maidstone, c.1900.

The Maidstone Museum represents the rise of provincial museums and libraries which developed from private organisations encouraged by the Public Libraries Act in the mid-nineteenth century. The guide for the museum, Public Library and Art Gallery of 1901 states that they ‘are a Society for purposes of Science, Literature and the Fine Arts exclusively’ with the following three purposes defined:

- (a) The Collection, preservation, classification and exhibition of specimens of Natural History, Geology, Antiquity, Literature and the Fine Arts.
- (b) The preservation of records of public interest, especially those relating to the Borough of Maidstone and the County of Kent and,
- (c) The promotion of a taste for Literature and the development of a wider interest in Art and Science.⁷²⁸

The concept of a ‘Society’ manifests the nature of the museum which was strongly connected

⁷²⁸ Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery, Brief Illustrated Description, together with a Catalogue of the Bentlif Collection, 3.

to the evolution of British educational institutions born from learned societies. The first curator of the museum, Edward Pretty, also served as the Assistant Secretary of the Kent Archaeological Society founded in 1857, a year before the opening of the museum.⁷²⁹ The Kentish society, sharing the purpose of educating the public about the local history and artefacts, still occupies an office in the museum. The intimacy of the society, museum and library recalls the role of learned societies along with mechanics' institutions in laying the foundations of the public library prior to the Public Libraries Act of 1850.⁷³⁰ Such organisations provided the members with access to scientific and technical literature as an aid for learning, which led to the free library movement in the mid nineteenth century.⁷³¹ Both learned societies and mechanics' institutes educated the public through libraries and exhibitions, which developed into provincial museums.⁷³² While societies required membership to access resources, the Act of 1850 enabled boroughs (then with over 10,000 population) for the first time to found museums and libraries freely accessible for all classes through public funds.⁷³³ The Maidstone Museum is situated in a buffer zone where two similar but different spheres intersect.

⁷²⁹ Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery, 14. Kent Archaeological Society, 'Kent Archaeology Society', accessed 12 January 2019, <https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/>.

⁷³⁰ Martyn Walker, "'For the Last Many Years in England Everybody Has Been Educating the People, but They Have Forgotten to Find Them Any Books": The Mechanics' Institutes Library Movement and Its Contribution to Working-Class Adult Education during the Nineteenth Century', *Library & Information History* 29, no. 4 (November 2013): 272–86.

⁷³¹ Walker, 274.

⁷³² Waterfield, *The People's Galleries*, 45–48. Trevor Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art: Artists, Patrons, and Institutions Outside London, 1800–1830*, Oxford Studies in the History of Art and Architecture (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974).

⁷³³ Edward Edwards, 'Three Reports on the Origin, Formation, and First Year's Working of the Manchester Free Library: With an Introduction on the Results and the Defects of the Public Libraries Act of 1850' (Manchester: Printed by Cave and Sever, 1853), vii–xii. Alistair Black, 'The People's University: Models of Public Library History', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Volume 3: 1850–2000*, ed. Alistair Black and Peter Hoare, vol. 3, *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 25.

Although the Public Libraries Act in 1850 was the legal and philosophical stimulus to the founding of the local museum, it was the histories and contributions of townspeople that realised the museum. Chillington Manor House, a sixteenth-century Kentish building accommodates the museum and library functions. Before being purchased by the local government, the historic house used to be the residence of Thomas Charles, a medical expert who died in 1855. His private collection of antiquities, paintings and books formed a part of the museum collection on bequest.⁷³⁴ The multiple contributions from various individuals contributed to the uniqueness of the institution which was not centralised. Private funds from individuals enabled the subsequent attachments of the West and East Wings, the Bently Art Gallery, and the Library to the main building as well as the restoration of the architecture.⁷³⁵ Interestingly, the Bently Art Gallery has been run by separate trustees from the museum and library.⁷³⁶ The private and the institutional coexist within the Museum of Maidstone, in a different way to that of Franks and the British Museum (chapter two).

While individual contributions were part of a significant drive to develop the Museum, ‘a series of Industrial Arts objects’ from the Victoria and Albert Museum went on view at Maidstone. The loaned ‘Industrial Arts’ of 1901 included textiles of ‘early Egyptian and Byzantine work’.⁷³⁷ By 1896, provincial museums across the U.K. received 33,960 loaned objects via the Circulation Department of the V&A.⁷³⁸ The Maidstone Museum worked as a connector of the national collection of ‘industrial arts’ to the local audience. Despite the fact

⁷³⁴ Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery, Brief Illustrated Description, together with a Catalogue of the Bently Collection, 6.

⁷³⁵ Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery, 6–19.

⁷³⁶ From 2018, the name of the Bently Art Gallery was omitted from the official museum name, Maidstone Museum.

⁷³⁷ Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery, 19.

⁷³⁸ Sally M. Foster, ‘Circulating Agency the V&A, Scotland and the Multiplication of Plaster Casts of “Celtic Crosses”’, *Journal of the History of Collections* 27, no. 1 (1 March 2015), 75.

that most art historical research has focused on British arts and Old masters, the ‘Industrial Arts’ occupied an equally important part of provincial art scenes as they did at the national museums and in exhibitions in the nineteenth century.⁷³⁹ Giles Waterfield observes that there were different meanings for this category of objects at museums in Britain: ‘the skills involved in the process of industry itself, art produced by industrial means and technical design, and arts aimed at the production of sellable commodities’, which extended to ‘objects of domestic or quasi-domestic use with artistic presentations if they were produced not by hand but by mechanical means’ in the late nineteenth century.⁷⁴⁰ The ‘industrial arts’ included vast types and numbers of objects from foreign to domestic, from ancient to contemporary, from handcrafted to machine-made, and from skilled works to commodities, which Japanese ceramic works could easily fit into.

The provincial museum had a distinctive purpose to record local heritage and interests. Artworks of local artists and artefacts from Kent demonstrate the unique local history and heritage in the museum. By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, apart from Kentish and English collections, objects from Japan and China were selling points for visitors. In the West Wing, opened in 1873, a variety of works from the Far East collected by Julius Brenchley (1816–1873) were displayed along with his collection of paintings and sculpture (Fig. 115).⁷⁴¹

⁷³⁹ Pergam, *The Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857*, 1. For example, among 16,000 works of exhibits at the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition in 1857, ‘decorative art’ counted 10,000 works.

⁷⁴⁰ Waterfield, *The People’s Galleries*, 200.

⁷⁴¹ Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery, *Brief Illustrated Description, together with a Catalogue of the Bentlif Collection*, 15–7.



Fig. 115 Brenchley Room, West Wing, Maidstone Museum, c.1901.

Marsham's collection developed with the Maidstone Museum, Library and Bentlif Art Gallery whose facilities and contents were largely contributed by townspeople. They brought in diverse ranges of objects from fossils, flora, fauna, Egyptian artefacts, Western paintings, Oceanic art to Japanese ceramics, which requires universal subject knowledge to organise and interpret them. Needless to say, it was impossible to accomplish such a task with only the curator and librarian. Thus, Marsham, the donor of the Japanese collection could have an impact on the curation of his collection at the museum and gallery by initiating the interpretation of the objects. Townspeople contributed to financing, the development of collections, and management of the institution in a bottom-up process.

However, the 'bottom' was still the middle to upper class of the society of the town who could contribute enough to support the modern educational facilities. Marsham was one such contributor who wished to leave his own legacy at the place highly associated with the family history as a son of the third Earl of Romney. The Marsham family owned the Mote Park in Maidstone since the seventeenth century until they sold the estate to the first Viscount of

Beasted, Marcus Samuel (1853–1927) in 1895.⁷⁴² Anne Marsham (b. 1846), Henry Marsham's closest sister living in Weaving House, Maidstone, donated his collection to the Maidstone Museum by supporting the aims of his will after his unexpected death from illness in 1908. A decade later, Anne and another sister Mary (b.1840) commemorated their eldest sister Margaret by commissioning a stained-glass window at the Church of St John the Evangelist, Willington Street Parish, Maidstone, Kent.⁷⁴³ Margaret played the organ for their parish church for many years.⁷⁴⁴ The family's historical and ongoing connection to Maidstone appears to have made Marsham choose the Provincial Museum, not the National ones, as the destination of his collection.

Japanese Ceramics as a Branding Tool

Marsham's collection of Japanese ceramics was not only a vehicle for Maidstone's educational and public service policies but also a branding tool of the museum and the donor. It is worth mentioning that Maidstone's strength in Far Eastern collections had already been seen prior to Marsham's intensive collecting of Japanese art. The guide to the museum of 1901 describes:

The [Brencheley collection of] pottery and porcelain include some of the finest examples from the early manufactories of China and Japan; indeed, it is not too much to say that few provincial museums possess such a rich and varied series of objects illustrative of the industrial arts of these nations, as exemplified in their enamels, ivories, kakemono (paintings on silk), and ceramic ware.⁷⁴⁵

Chinese and Japanese objects constituted an important part of the museum collection along

⁷⁴² Mote Park Fellowship, 'History of Mote Park', accessed 26 January 2021. <https://www.moteparkfellowship.org.uk/mote-park/history>.

⁷⁴³ 'For a private memorial window and tablet in memory of the sister of Anne and Mary Marsham', documents and a photograph, 19 July 1920, Kent Archive, Maidstone, DCb/E/F/Maidstone St John/3.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁵ Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery, Brief Illustrated Description, together with a Catalogue of the Bentlif Collection, 17.

with the artefacts, products and art made in Britain. The collecting of Japanese art was a consequence of British global travelling since the late nineteenth century. Travellers brought back objects from the Far East and donated them to the museum. Marsham was one of the four main donors of Japanese art to Maidstone Museum along with Julius Brenchley (1816–1873), C. J. Todd (1855–1939), and Walter Samuel (1882–1948). The Maidstone Museum has hosted works brought from all over the world by travellers of the region. As early as 1863, the first donor of Japanese works, Brenchley collected Japanese objects on his world tour as an ethnographer and natural historian.⁷⁴⁶ Todd, a chaplain of the British Navy acquired works in Japan during the naval mission in Asia.⁷⁴⁷ Marsham and Samuel both collected Japanese works while expanding their global business.⁷⁴⁸ Samuel was the son of Lord Bearsted who bought Mote Park from the Marsham family and the founder of Shell Transport and Trading Company.

The Far Eastern collections at the Maidstone Museum also reflect the general interest in travelling at the Victoria Library which was adjoined to the museum. In the library, travel

⁷⁴⁶ Sam Hitchmough and Becky Newton, 'Julius Brenchley Collection » Other World Travels', accessed 23 December 2018, <http://www.brenchleycollection.co.uk/brenchley/other-world-travels/>. Julius L. Brenchley, *Jottings during the Cruise of H.M.S. Curacoa among the South Sea Islands in 1865* (London: Longmans, Green, 1873), xvi. In the postscript of Brenchley's preface, an unnamed friend of him highlights Japanese, Chinese, Siberian and Russian objects as 'fine specimens' among Brenchley collection of 'industry and arts' from the countries which he visited. Although most of his collection was donated to the Maidstone Museum, British Museum also received Brenchley's ethnographic collection.

⁷⁴⁷ Jenyns, 'The Todd Collection', 70–72. As introduced in chapter three, Todd was a source of acquiring Japanese works for the British Museum. About his collection at the Maidstone Museum see Vanessa Tothill, 'Maidstone Museum's Collectors of Japanese Art', Maidstone Museum, 22 November 2016, accessed 21 March 2017, <http://museum.maidstone.gov.uk/maidstone-museums-collectors-japanese-art/>.

⁷⁴⁸ 'Japanese Decorative Art & Prints | Collections', Maidstone Museum, accessed 27 December 2016, <http://museum.maidstone.gov.uk/explore/collections/japanese-decorative-art-prints/>.

literature and topography were popular categories.⁷⁴⁹ The amount of travel literature ranks at the third-highest with 363 volumes in 1903. The circulation of books on travel and topography placed second to fiction. The increase in public interest in travel was a universal trend among the public in Britain in the mid nineteenth century. Evolving from learned societies and mechanic institutes, public libraries were originally founded to improve the scientific knowledge among citizens with scientific literature. However, once categorised as ‘miscellaneous’, literature on travel and fiction replaced the popularity of this original genre at public libraries by the end of the 1840s.⁷⁵⁰ The objects from Japan in the museum could have been an inspirational source for the audience who wished to travel and know more about foreign countries.

The institutionalisation of Marsham’s collection transformed the objects into inspirational and educational tools to be displayed and interpreted mainly for the residents of the area. However, Marsham proactively strived to establish and position his own collection as distinctive in the museum and among other museums. He tried to convince the curator of the value of his collections in his letters and by presenting interpretative tools for the collection.

I believe that there does not exist in any provincial Museum in Great Britain a more representative collection of Japanese earthenware amongst the number there are examples which I venture to say are not to be bound in the National Museums. So I think that my offer is deserving of serious consideration.⁷⁵¹

In Marsham’s letter negotiating the conditions for depositing his collection, he declares the significance of his collection at the provincial museum in comparison to those at national

⁷⁴⁹ J. H. Allchin, ‘Report of the Curator and Librarian. For the Year Ended October 31st, 1903’ (Maidstone: Borough of Maidstone. Museum, Public library and Bently Art Gallery, 1904), 20.

⁷⁵⁰ Walker, “‘For the Last Many Years in England Everybody Has Been Educating the People, but They Have Forgotten to Find Them Any Books’”, 275, 277.

⁷⁵¹ Letter from Henry Marsham to J. H. Allchin, 24 May 1905, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum. Appendix B, Transcript 24. The underline follows the original text.

ones. His argument was directly reflected in the following museum report by Allchin published the next year.

The offer of the loan, for an indefinite period, of a collection of about six hundred examples of Japanese Pottery has been received from the Hon. Henry Marsham, with the stipulation that the collection shall be properly displayed and labelled. The collection is one that would have few rivals in the country, even in the National Museums, and through the valuable help of the Bentlif Wing Trustees, who have guaranteed the cost of some of the cases that will be required, the offer has been most gratefully accepted, and the collection which at present is in Japan will, it is hoped, be received here in the early part of next summer.⁷⁵²

Marsham's collection of Japanese ceramics was believed to compete with those in other British collections including national museums. The shared confidence in the significance of the collection among the collector, the museum, and the local government created a desirable collection to exhibit for the audience in Maidstone. In 1924, *The Times* reports that the Marsham collection has placed the museum 'in the enviable position of being one of the most important centres in Europe of Japanese art' together with Samuel's collection acquired by the museum in 1923, which is mainly composed of Japanese prints.⁷⁵³ The museum was successful in promoting the importance of the collection as a distinguished collection of Japanese art.

6.2 Curation as a Collaborative Project

The Collector as an Instructor

In 1906–7, Marsham sent seven containers of his collection to Maidstone. Along with sending objects, Marsham transferred his knowledge to the museum by cataloguing his

⁷⁵² J. H. Allchin, 'Report of the Curator and Librarian. For the Year Ended October 31st, 1905' (Maidstone: Borough of Maidstone. Museum, Public Library, and Bentlif Art Gallery, 1906), 5.

⁷⁵³ 'A County Museum (From a Special Correspondent.)', *The Times*, 25 September 1924.

collection, instructing them about the values and display of objects, and supplementing educational materials. Involving himself in the curation of his collection, the traveller and collector became an amateur expert and instructor of Japanese ceramics.

Marsham's letter to Allchin on the eighteenth of February 1906 lists the first consignment of his collection with detailed descriptions.⁷⁵⁴ His hand-written catalogue showed his ranking system for the collection. The list of objects indicates the works of 'excellence' with red cross marks and the capital letter R for those of 'rarities'.⁷⁵⁵ This ranking system includes both whipped tea and steeped tea utensils as well as other forms of utensils such as dishes and *inrō*. The most highly rated object in the first consignment of his collection with six crosses and an R mark was a *mukōzuke* dish in the form of a straw hat made at Naniwa kiln, Osaka during the last half of the seventeenth century (Fig. 116). The smooth and very thin dish, bent after being formed on the potter's wheel, is adorned with iron brown geometric decoration on the exterior. Despite the fact that Marsham listed this dish as a tea bowl, this is highly likely to be a dish for containing foods. The secondly high rated work is a porcelain *inro* attributed to Nin'ami Dōhachi with five crosses.⁷⁵⁶ While objects used uniquely in Japanese contexts were highlighted, individual works acquired the values of excellence and rarity that were mutually exclusive of the former.

⁷⁵⁴ Henry Marsham, first consignment list of the Marsham collection, 18 February 1906, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum.

⁷⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 2.

⁷⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 2.



Fig. 116 Mukōzuke dish in shape of straw hat, Naniwa ware, latter half of the seventeenth century, Marsham collection.

The following consignment list written on 16 June 1906 partially discloses the involvement of the Japanese in establishing values for the Marsham collection. In the margin of the first page of the second consignment list, Marsham informs that ‘the red crosses are put against pieces of greatest merit in the eye of the Japanese expert’.⁷⁵⁷ Considering his close connection to Japanese dealers, artists and collectors in Kyoto, it is likely that his Japanese friends’ judgement in aesthetic and commercial values of the objects had been transferred to Maidstone. In other words, the British collection of Japanese ceramics reflects the Japanese connoisseurship of the time, with Marsham’s collection being the medium of transfer.

Separate from the ranking of individual objects, Marsham categorised teawares with a top significance among a variety of utensils as discussed in chapter five. This hierarchy of objects in his collection corresponds to his understanding of tea as a Japanese cultural practice for the educated. Connected to his understanding of the cultural significance of teawares, Marsham communicated how to exhibit tea utensils at the museum. He illustrates an ideal display of a

⁷⁵⁷ Henry Marsham, second consignment list of the Marsham collection, 16 June 1906, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum. From this list, Marsham abandoned multiple Xs and used a single X or circle to show the significance.

tea jar with a box and a bag side by side with the object, following the Japanese custom of treasuring the heritage by storing the valuable (Fig. 117).⁷⁵⁸

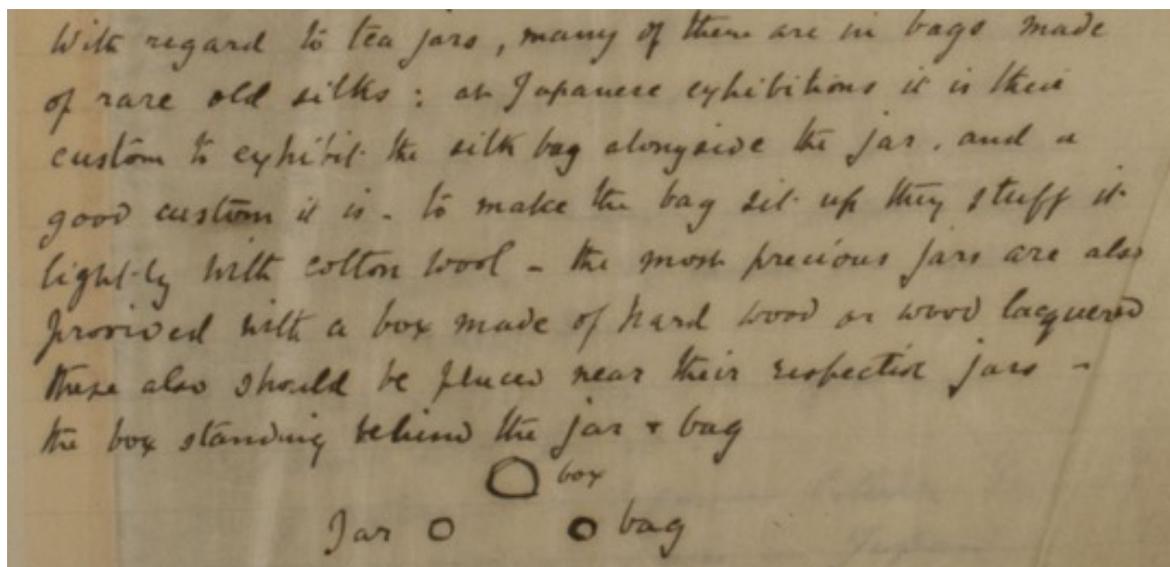


Fig. 117 Letter from Henry Marsham to J. H. Allchin, 18 February 1906.

The tea jar (Fig. 118) was introduced as the most treasured item for Japanese tea devotees comparable to ‘the bejewelled snuffboxes carried by the beauty of Europe a hundred years ago’, followed by *chawan* or tea bowls.⁷⁵⁹ This document shows how conscious the collector was about the cultural value of tea as a practice associated with a specific group of people as well as a method of display.



Fig. 118 Nonomura Ninsei, Tea jar in gourd shape, early seventeenth century, Marsham collection.

⁷⁵⁸ Letter from Marsham to Allchin, 18 February 1906, 3. Appendix B, Transcript 23.

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid, 2. In the original text, Marsham uses the term ‘tea cups’ instead of tea bowls.

Furthermore, Marsham provided the museum with the tools and methods to realise the educational presentation of his collection. In 1907, Marsham donated to the museum the references on Japanese ceramics written by Edward S. Morse published in 1901.⁷⁶⁰ By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Morse collection, with over 5000 objects, established a firm position as a complete set of Japanese domestic ceramics.⁷⁶¹ Ceramic works were systematically classified according to the production place. His catalogue describes the history of production, biography of makers, textual and visual data of seals and inscriptions. While living in Japan as a *yatoi*, a foreigner employed by the Japanese government, Morse became fascinated by Japanese domestic wares and developed his understanding of ceramics in the interaction with Japanese connoisseurs, notably Ninagawa Noritane.⁷⁶² Besides the quantity and variety, it was the power of photography which transformed his collection into an informative and visual encyclopaedia of Japanese ceramics. The catalogue contains photographs of his entire collection grouped by the production place and close-up shots of selected pieces in his collection (Fig. 119, Fig. 120).

⁷⁶⁰ J. H. Allchin, 'Report of the Curator and Librarian. For the Year Ended October 31st, 1907' (Maidstone: Borough of Maidstone. Museum, Public Library, and Bently Art Gallery, 1908), 10–11. In 2018, the author was able to rediscover Marsham's donated books from the Museum library with the assistance of Samantha Harris, Maidstone Museum.

⁷⁶¹ Edward S. Morse, *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1901). Korean ceramics are also included in the catalogue.

⁷⁶² Ninagawa, 'Mōsu no Nihon korekushon to Ninagawa Noritane'.



Fig. 119 Edward S. Morse's display of ceramics from province of Yamashiro, 1901.



Fig. 120 Awata ware (tea jar, top in the middle), Bizan ware, Iwakurasan ware, Hōzan ware, Awata ware, and Tanzan ware (from left to right), Morse collection, 1901.

The reproduced images connected the visual characteristics of objects and the textual description. For readers, the distance from the physical collection was no longer an obstacle to grasp the big picture of the collection. The fully visualised collection of Japanese ceramics became an influential database for collectors and students of Japanese ceramics.

In the same year when Marsham donated the Morse catalogues, he presented 'a large and

specially drawn map of Japan (2ft. 10in. by 6ft. 4 in size.), on which are indicated all the provinces and potteries where the different examples contained in the collection [were] manufactured.⁷⁶³ He was preparing the making of this map by December 1906.

A rough copy of the map showing the positions of the most celebrated potteries is finished; this I propose to have reproduced in more finished style on my return.⁷⁶⁴

In 1909, the map was on the wall of the Art Room in the Bentlif Wing to familiarise visitors with Japanese kilns.⁷⁶⁵ Although the map is currently unlocated, it is clear that the collector proactively contributed to creating educational values for his own collection in the museum setting by communicating the primary and secondary information acquired through publication and his field-collection in Japan.

Interpreting the Collection

Marsham established his own view of Japanese ceramics by learning from Japanese friends and the Morse collection catalogues. Marsham was highly conscious about Morse in classifying, understanding and presenting Japanese ceramics. The interest in teawares and the regional classification of ceramic works are the common features between the Morse and Marsham collections. The British collector tried to establish a scholarly connection to the American researcher. The extensive archive of Morse at the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem holds a letter from Marsham.⁷⁶⁶ Although the letter does not contain details of his collection, Marsham's final line 'Hoping you may be able to help me in my researches' suggests that he contacted the American collector before this letter and asked for his assistance. In 1905,

⁷⁶³ Allchin, 'Report of the Curator and Librarian. For the Year Ended October 31st, 1907', 11.

⁷⁶⁴ Letter from Henry Marsham to Allchin, 14 December 1906, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum. Appendix B, Transcript 22.

⁷⁶⁵ J. H. Allchin, *A Guide to the Collections in the Museum and Bentlif Art Gallery: With Notes on the History of Chillington Manor House* (Maidstone: W.P. Dickinson, 1909), 122.

⁷⁶⁶ Letter from Henry Marsham to Edward S. Morse, 1904-1908, Morse Archive 485, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Meiji Japan database (with subscription), accessed 28 January 2018, <https://www.amdigital.co.uk/primary-sources/meiji-japan>.

Marsham also asked Allchin to send a report of the Marsham collection to Morse.⁷⁶⁷

Building on Morse's foundation of ceramic study, Marsham the learner, incorporated this in his own way of collecting. Indeed, Marsham's list of his collection sometimes explicitly indicates that he referred to the catalogues of the Morse collection. Marsham comments, 'See Morse' for the incense burner with the design of a tiger and bamboo with the rare mark of Fuji (Fig. 121).⁷⁶⁸ However, Marsham was also an active reader who dared to correct the contents of the catalogue. Marsham left a group of notes and annotations interleaved or written in Morse's *Catalogue of the Morse collection of Japanese Pottery*, vol.1 (1901). The documents' estimated dates are around 1905–6 according to two pieces of written information on them. Marsham's annotations on the book record what he learned about Japanese ceramics while he was in Japan. He corrects the author's mistakes in printed names and adds information directly acquired from his acquaintances in Japan. For example, Morse writes about a ceramic ware with a signature of Asahitei, 'Pottery signed Asahitei has been made within fifty years, and is typical Kyoto. No information has been obtained in regard to the potter.'⁷⁶⁹ Marsham underlines the word 'potter' and annotates, 'Kyokutei[underlined] Tozan Ito's teacher'.⁷⁷⁰ Another Marsham annotation on a Kyoto potter also demonstrates that he accumulated his knowledge through communication with the local ceramic artists: 'Dec 1906 Hōzan says he is XVII generation–XIV gen[sic] most celebrated.'⁷⁷¹ These

⁷⁶⁷ Letter from Henry Marsham to J. H. Allchin, 24 May 1905, 3, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum. See Appendix B, Transcript 24.

⁷⁶⁸ Marsham, first consignment list of the Marsham collection, 18 February 1906. The incense burner from Kyoto, numbered 47 in the first list is rated high with two 'x's and 'R' marks. The entry for the ceramics with Fuji mark is in Morse, *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery*, vol.1, 223.

⁷⁶⁹ Morse, 153.

⁷⁷⁰ Henry Marsham's annotation on Morse, *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery*, vol.1, 153, Maidstone Museum.

⁷⁷¹ Henry Marsham's annotation on Morse, *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery*, vol.1, 226, Maidstone Museum.

annotations in the book are in Marsham's writing style. However, some notes were written by a different person, possibly a dealer in Kyoto or Marsham's Japanese assistant. Most of the notes were written on sheets with a Miyako Hotel letterhead.⁷⁷²



Fig. 121 Incense burner with design of tiger and bamboo, Kyoto ware, Edo period, Marsham collection.

Marsham distinguished his collection by choosing specific types and kilns of Japanese ceramics as highlights rather than aiming for an encyclopaedic collection of Japanese ceramics as formed by Franks and Morse. Marsham developed the areas in which he could uniquely excel, which was reflected in his directions for display. Marsham asked Allchin to 'exhibit the tea jars by themselves incense boxes ditto, tea ceremony cups ditto. Teapots do. The Bizen, Awata, Kiyomizu, and Oniwayaki of Kishu should be arranged in groups.'⁷⁷³ This instruction illustrates his system of value for Japanese ceramics which started from the function or form of objects followed by kilns.

⁷⁷² Henry Marsham and his assistant, notes on loose sheets bounded in Morse, *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery*, vol.1, Maidstone Museum.

⁷⁷³ Letter from Marsham to Allchin, 18 February 1906. See Appendix B, Transcript 23.

Iwakurasan Ware

Over the course of the development of Marsham's collection, ceramics made by Iwakurasan turned out to be a distinctive category.⁷⁷⁴ When Marsham highlights the significance of the ware in his letter to Allchin, he refers to Morse's comment on the ceramics 'the most delicate of Awata Pottery' as an authority of the field.⁷⁷⁵ Marsham felt confident to rival national museums including the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston with his approximately 200 pieces of Iwakurasan ware exemplifying 'nearly every kind of dish & utensil' used by the Japanese and the formal and decorative variety.⁷⁷⁶ Although Morse was an important source of information for Marsham, the Morse collection only possessed seven pieces with a mark of Iwakurasan.⁷⁷⁷ In Marsham's collection, different types of teawares such as tea bowls, teapots, water containers, and napkin holders were examples that show the diversity among Iwakurasan products (Fig. 122, Fig. 123, Fig. 124).

⁷⁷⁴ Morse, Masham and Allchin called Iwakurasan as Iwakurayama. However, this thesis uses Iwaurasan following Japanese scholarly practice.

⁷⁷⁵ Letter from Henry Marsham to J.H. Allchin, 7 July 1906, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum. The word of Morse is partially quoted from Morse, *Catalogue of the Morse Collection*, vol.1, 226, 'In the middle of the eighteenthcentury the potter was moved [from Iwakura] to Awata district, since which time the most delicate of Awata pottery has been made bearing the impressed mark *Iwakurayama*'.

⁷⁷⁶ Letter from Henry Marsham to J. H. Allchin, 7 July 1906, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum. Appendix B, Transcript 25.

⁷⁷⁷ Morse, *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery*, vol.1, 226.



Fig. 122 Iwakurasan kiln, Water container with design of prunus, eighteenth–nineteenth century, Marsham collection.

Fig. 123 Iwakurasan kiln, Teapot with design of bird and flower, eighteenth–nineteenth century, Marsham collection.



Fig. 124 Iwakurasan kiln, Tea bowl with design of hollyhock crest and shimenawa rope, marked 'Iwakurasan' in the footring, eighteenth–nineteenth century, Marsham collection.⁷⁷⁸

It is said that during the Hōreki era (1751–1764), Iwakurasan was moved from Iwakura district to Awata.⁷⁷⁹ In Hōreki 6 (1756), the 9th Shogun Tokugawa Ieshige (1711–1761, reign: 1745–1760) appointed Iwakurasan to present tea bowls for the Shogunate along with Kinkōzan, another important Awata kiln. In Meiji 7 (1874), Iwakurasan Kichibei

⁷⁷⁸ See Fig. 87 for a similar work from Kinkōzan kiln.

⁷⁷⁹ Oka Yoshiko 岡佳子, 'Iwakurasan Kichibei 岩倉山吉兵衛', ed. Yabe Yoshiaki 矢部良明, *Kadokawa Nihon tōji daijiten* 角川日本陶磁大辞典 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店, 2002).

岩倉山吉兵衛, the owner of the kiln died. Despite his widow Rai's efforts, the kiln was unable to keep operating. A year before Kichibei's death, they also lost their young son, who was supposed to succeed as the kiln manager.⁷⁸⁰ Due to the cessation of the firing of the Iwakurasan kiln in the early Meiji era, details of the kiln had been forgotten by the time Marsham started collecting Iwakurasan ware. The history of this ware was not of concern among Japanese specialists of the Meiji era.

Reliable information concerning the ware is hard to obtain, with the assistance of my Japanese servant I have been making enquiries for a long time and have not got much forwarder. It may surprise you to learn that even the Curators of the Osaka & Kyoto Museums are unable to supply me with the information I desire.⁷⁸¹

Marsham collected the mass of Iwakurasan ware, believing in its significance, which was no longer appreciated in the Japanese market. Marsham claims:

It seems that it has never occurred to any Japanese that there is any particular merit in this [Iwakurasan] pottery, in their eyes, it has a defect. It is pretty and highly finished. The British Museum has a few pieces, so has the Boston Museum, but I venture to say that compared with my best examples, they are nowhere.⁷⁸²

Reflecting the historical connection between the Iwakura district and Iwakurasan kiln in Awata, Marsham categorised both ceramics marked Iwakura and Iwakurasan in the list of 'District of Iwakura'.⁷⁸³ The grouping of the two likely derived from the classification for 'Iwakurayama' in the Morse collection catalogue, whose explanation was based on Ninagawa Noritane's *Kanko zuzetsu* (1876), the most influential illustrated catalogue on Japanese

⁷⁸⁰ Yoshida Takafumi 吉田堯文, 'Awatayaki Kiyomizuyaki 粟田焼清水焼', in *Nishi Nihon no tōki* 西日本の陶器, ed. Yūzankaku 雄山閣, Tōki kōza 陶器講座 5 (Tokyo: Yūzankaku 雄山閣, 1935), 23.

⁷⁸¹ Letter from Henry Marsham to J.H. Allchin, 9 October 1906, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum. See Appendix B, Transcript 26.

⁷⁸² Letter from Marsham to Allchin, 7 July 1906. Appendix B, Transcript 25.

⁷⁸³ Ibid.

ceramics published in Japanese and French in the nineteenth century (chapter three).⁷⁸⁴ An example of Iwakura ware in Marsham's collection is an incense burner with large crackles in the glaze over a cream body which is adorned with a pine design in overglaze green, blue and gold enamels (Fig. 125). This rare piece shows the elegance and perfection in the form and colours of late seventeenth century Kyoto ware.



Fig. 125 Incense burner with design of pine with a wooden lid, marked 'Iwakura', Kyoto ware, latter half of the seventeenth century, Marsham collection.

However, the majority of pieces in the 'Iwakurayama' collection are products from the Iwakurasan kiln in Awata during the eighteenth–nineteenth centuries. Many of them look as if they had never been used, which meant they could be unsold stock of Iwakurasan products or examples. Examining a variety of Iwarakurasan ware by himself, Marsham tried to understand the development of works by Iwakurasan. One of his research methods was the empirical examination of Iwakurasan marks on the products.

You may remember that I gave you a set of the marks which are to be found on pieces forming the Iwakurayama collection. At the present time I very much want them for purposes of comparison & reference & should be greatly obliged if you would send

⁷⁸⁴ Morse, *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery*, vol.1, 226. Tōki zenshū Kankōkai 陶器全集刊行会, ed., 'Iwakurasan 岩倉山', in *Tōki Daijiten* 陶器大辭典 (Tokyo: Hōunsha 寶雲舎, 1934), 314. It should be noted that Morse's section of 'Iwakurayama' does not based on the section of 'Iwakurasan' in Ninagawa's *Kanko zusetu* but 'Iwakura ware', which wrongly attributes Kinkōzan to the maker of utensils with the mark of Iwakurasan.

them to me. On my return I will restore them to you.⁷⁸⁵

Marsham's letter at the end of the year 1907 reveals that, by that time, he had proactively researched his Iwakurasan collection and shared his research materials with Allchin. The 'set of the marks' in question has not been located, some Iwakurasan wares in Marsham's collection retain the trace of Marsham's attempt to transfer the mark using red Japanese ink (Fig. 124).

Although Franks and Morse had published catalogues with marks, the number of samples was too limited for Marsham to investigate the history of Iwakurasan ware.⁷⁸⁶ Besides the antiquarian research on the marks, Marsham took the advantage of being in Japan to trace the history of the Iwakurasan kiln. In the Maidstone Museum, two photographs are annotated as the grave of Iwakurasan Kichibei and are stored in an envelope from S. Hayashi, which had been interleaved in the Morse collection catalogue from Marsham (Fig. 126).⁷⁸⁷ Hayashi was likely to have taken Marsham to the graveyard of Jōanji in Higashiyama. It is possible that Marsham asked Tōzan about Iwakurasan, as he once had an apprenticeship at the kiln at the end of the Edo period (chapter four).

⁷⁸⁵ Letter from Henry Marsham to J. H. Allchin, 29 December 1907, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum. See Appendix B, Transcript 27.

⁷⁸⁶ Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, 2nd ed, PLATE XVII. See Chapter 3 for Iwakurasan ware in Franks collection. Morse, *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery*, vol.1, 226.

⁷⁸⁷ Ogawa, ed., *Awata-yaki*, 108. It is known that Jōanji temple in Higashiyama has the grave of Iwakurasan family. However, the gravestone of Iwakurasan was not identifiable when the author visited the temple on 20 December 2018. In September 2018, the catastrophic Typhoon Jebi hit Kyoto and the temple had a severe damage including its graveyard.

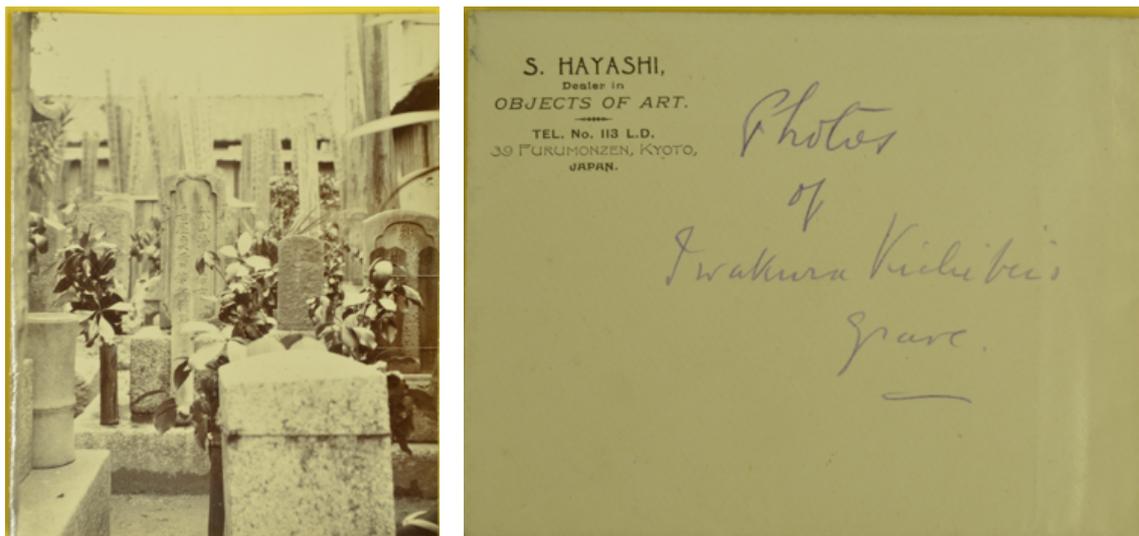


Fig. 126 Annotated by Henry Marsham, envelope and photograph of Iwakurasan's gravestone at Jōanji, Kyoto, c.1906.

Marsham's album of photography also includes another shot of the same grave and a photograph of 'Grave of Denbei, ancestor of Kichibei Iwakurasan, at Kurodane[sic] cemetery' taken at Kinkai Kōmyōji temple (Fig. 127). Marsham's stay in Kyoto connects to the ceramic history of the region and those who inherited the memory as creators and promoters. The Iwakurasan ware collection crystallises Marsham's learning, interactions, and unique pursuit of Japanese ceramics.



Fig. 127 Grave of Kazariya Denbei at Kurotani cemetery, Kinkai Kōmyōji, Kyoto, Henry Marsham's album of photography, c.1906.

6.3 Displaying the Collection

Casing

In 1906, after receiving most of Marsham's collection, the museum committee and the trustees of the Bently Art Gallery prepared display cases for the Japanese ceramic collection.⁷⁸⁸ Allchin acted as a delegate for the two parties and ordered R Coben & Co, a local firm, to make five special display cases modelled on those in the V&A.⁷⁸⁹ In the following year, the trustees provided another case, but still 'at least two more new cases' were demanded.⁷⁹⁰ In preparation, the curator received advice from Richard Quick (1860–1940), former curator at the Horniman Museum, London and superintendent of the Bristol Art Gallery of Antiquities.⁷⁹¹ At the annual meeting of the Museums Association in Bristol, 3–6 July 1906, where participants discussed cases, Allchin proudly described and exhibited a photograph and drawings of the new cases to international and British attendees.⁷⁹² The manufacturing of the display cases demonstrates not only the strong communal support for the acquisition of Marsham's collection but also the regional initiative in museum activities to rival national ones. Placed in the new cases, Japanese ceramic utensils became star pieces in the museum. The cases participated in the value making for Marsham's collection, adding a sense of regional pride and ownership to them.

⁷⁸⁸ Allchin, 'Report of the Curator and Librarian. For the Year Ended October 31st, 1906', 7. 'The Museum Committee has supplied one, and the Trustees of the Bently Art Gallery have provided four new cases all of an approved design. It is anticipated that at least one more case will be required.'

⁷⁸⁹ J. H. Allchin, note on the cases for Marsham collection, 25 April 1906, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum. Letters from R Coben & Co. to J. H. Allchin, 10 July; 13 and 25 August, 1906, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum.

⁷⁹⁰ Allchin, 'Report of the Curator and Librarian. For the Year Ended October 31st, 1907', 11. J. H. Allchin, 'Report of the Curator and Librarian. For the Year Ended October 31st, 1908' (Maidstone: Borough of Maidstone. Museum, Public library and Bently Art Gallery, 1909), 21.

⁷⁹¹ Letter from Richard Quick to J. H. Allchin, 30 March 1906, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum.

⁷⁹² Allchin, 'Report of the Curator and Librarian. For the Year Ended October 31st, 1906', 37

Indeed, even before the creation of new cases, Marsham displayed his collection in Japan. A photograph in the Maidstone Museum shows the display of a series of Awata wares with different sizes and shapes on a wooden shelf (Fig. 128).



Fig. 128 Wooden shelf containing Marsham collection, mostly Iwakurasan ware, c.1906.

Most of the objects are identifiable as Iwakurasan ware in the Marsham collection. Unlike Morse's simple shelf for taxonomic display, the collection is exhibited on the interior shelf, which reminds us of the European and British tradition of displaying porcelain on shelves and kitchen cabinets, but with the Tokugawa crest of hollyhock and the imperial crest of paulownia on the drawers. This group photograph of Awata wares indicates that the person in charge of this display understood how best to capture a portrait of each work in a shot, showing their unique form and design. The background and the shelf suggest that it was probably taken in Kyoto for a temporary display by his request. It is uncommon to show many objects like this in Japanese homes because of the danger of earthquakes.

In the glassed case, the liveliness created by the mixed display of different forms in the wooden case was silenced by the serial display of the same size and types behind the glass (Fig. 129).



Fig. 129 Display case for Iwakurasan ware, Maidstone Museum and Bently Art Gallery, 1907.

Susan M. Pearce argues that the serial relations in special organisation convince the audience that the objects have educational values, but it could lead to the ‘mummification’ of objects.⁷⁹³ The loss of rhythm from the set of Iwakurasan wares corresponds to the focus on the ‘great intrinsic and educational value’ of the objects at the museum, which separates personal memories and experience that the objects contain.⁷⁹⁴ Instead, the shelf for permanent display at the museum invited visitors in front of the case to inspect the objects inside with their eyes.

⁷⁹³ Susan M. Pearce (1991), ‘Collecting Reconsidered’, in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. Susan M. Pearce (London; New York: Routledge, 2003), 202.

⁷⁹⁴ Allchin, ‘Report of the Curator and Librarian. For the Year Ended October 31st, 1906’, 7.

Publication and Exhibition

Allchin's introduction and description of the Marsham collection in the museum report for 1907 accompanied the physical placement of Marsham's collection in the gallery.

Mr. Marsham believes his collection is unique, as it includes examples of nearly every kind of domestic vessel made at the potteries where this ware was produced. According to Professor E.S. Morse, the manufacture of it dates back over two hundred years, and it was originally made at Iwakura, near Kyoto, but the pottery was removed to Awata district in the middle of the eighteenth century, and since that time the most delicate Awata pottery has borne the impressed mark Iwakurayama[sic].

Most of the specimens are a delicate fawn colour inclining to a cream tint, with a very fine glaze; others are of various shades of grey, a few of a full cream colour, and some of the tea ceremony cups a deep chocolate brown.

The decoration is mainly of a light character, i.e. simple sprays of foliage, small blossoms, and grasses, in natural colours: gold is sometimes used, and on a few of the pieces figure subjects, animals, and birds are introduced.

The examples shown are sauce bottles, saki[sic] bottles; saki cups. and cup stands; saki cup washing bowls; tea ceremony cups, and water pots; food and fruit bowls; soup bowls and cups with covers; and diets and saucers of various forms and sizes. The double gourd-shaped saki bottle on the middle shelf is probably unique.⁷⁹⁵

The report describes the features of Marsham's collection alongside the monochrome photograph of a display case containing Iwakurasan wares, 'probably the largest collection of that ware in the World'.⁷⁹⁶ The curator authenticated Marsham's belief in the significance of his collection, referring to Morse. The description and the photograph describe the colours, motifs and forms of the collection for the readers. The various shapes in the glassed-case are given names according to the functional classification of objects in their original context. These words and image satisfy viewers' desire to see the unique, the historical, the beautiful, the diverse and the cultural. At the same time, the publication by the museum shared the values the objects had for Marsham within the local community. The publication had an

⁷⁹⁵ The description of the bottle is based on Henry Marsham, third consignment list of the Marsham collection, no.126, 1906–7, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum.

⁷⁹⁶ Allchin, 'Report of the Curator and Librarian. For the Year Ended October 31st, 1907', 29.

educational purpose but also claimed the collector's presence in the field and cultural contribution to the region.

All the explanations in the report prepared the foundation for the detailed description in *A Guide to the Collections in the Museum & Bentlif Art Gallery with Notes on the History of Chillington Manor House with Illustration* (1909).⁷⁹⁷ The publication of a collection guide was what Marsham was asking for.

It is becoming pretty widely known in Japan that my collection finds an abiding place in the Maidstone Museum, & it is very probable that some Japanese will wish to see it; on that account I am anxious whenever a catalogue is made that mention should be made of the names of donors.⁷⁹⁸

The portable museum publication was a convenient tool for acknowledging not only Marsham but also his supporters in Japan. After his death, Marsham's sister Anne asked the museum to send Hirooka Seikichi a copy of the museum report.⁷⁹⁹ She believed that the museum's appreciation of her brother's collection would delight his Japanese assistant because it was Hirooka who made a serious effort 'in getting specimens of rare kinds' for Marsham.

In 1908–1909, the Marsham collection was exhibited in two areas though Allchin hoped to display all of the collection together in one room.⁸⁰⁰ At the centre of the Brencheley Room, on the ground floor of the West Wing of the museum, a case was dedicated to a part of Marsham's collection—various 'small but valuable' types of Japanese works such as

⁷⁹⁷ Allchin, *A Guide to the Collections in the Museum and Bentlif Art Gallery*, 120–3.

⁷⁹⁸ Letter from Marsham to Allchin, 2 November 1907. See Appendix B, Transcript 18.

⁷⁹⁹ Letter from Anne Marsham to Allchin, 1 March 1909. See Appendix B, Transcript 21.

⁸⁰⁰ Allchin, 'Report of the Curator and Librarian. For the Year Ended October 31st, 1908', 21. This separation could be due to the different funding source for one display case and the rest.

bronzes, porcelain and stoneware.⁸⁰¹ The Brencheley Room initially accommodated the collection created by Brencheley, whose marble bust sat at the entrance⁸⁰² In front of the Marsham collection, a case showed ceramic products from important English kilns—Wrotham, Crown Derby, Worcester and Wedgwood.⁸⁰³ Another standing case behind the Marsham collection mainly displayed Chinese works such as ivory carvings, jades, cloisonné, and bronzes which also included Japanese netsuke and bronzes.⁸⁰⁴ Ceramics appeared to be one of the themes for the room. Under the window of the room, there were wall cases for ‘very fine specimens’ of Chinese and Japanese ceramics. Two other cases under the arches displayed what was called Sicilian Terra Cotta.⁸⁰⁵ Two tall modern Chinese vases were also on view. Besides the domestic and foreign ceramics and crafts, the room accommodated Western musical instruments and paintings including works by Maidstone’s local artists.⁸⁰⁶ Some of Marsham’s collection was located in a mixture of things from England and other cultures.

The majority of the Marsham collection of Japanese ceramics had its home in the Art Room in the Bentlif Wing. The Bentlif Wing was gifted to the local government by Samuel Bentlif in 1890 to commemorate his deceased brother George Bentlif, whose art collection was presented to the wing in 1897 when Samuel Bentlif died.⁸⁰⁷ Although the building is public property, the gallery has been administered privately. There were oil paintings by foreign artists, English needlework, medieval Bibles and loaned works from the V&A.⁸⁰⁸ However,

⁸⁰¹ Allchin, *A Guide to the Collections in the Museum and Bentlif Art Gallery*, 24.

⁸⁰² Allchin, 24, 26.

⁸⁰³ Allchin, 24. The same case included ‘Black Egyptian Ware’, but this could be copies by British kilns.

⁸⁰⁴ Allchin, 24–5. The left part of the case showed Russian art.

⁸⁰⁵ Allchin, 25.

⁸⁰⁶ Allchin, 25–6.

⁸⁰⁷ Allchin, 119. The gallery hosted free lectures in Winter.

⁸⁰⁸ Allchin, 120.

the quantity of the Marsham collection in the room appears to have surpassed other exhibits in display cases. While books and collections loaned from the V&A occupied two and four cases respectively, the Marsham collection numbered six cases.⁸⁰⁹ In the three pages of description of the Art Room in the guidebook of 1909, over a page is dedicated to the Marsham collection with an additional photograph of the display case of Iwakurasan ware. The detailed coverage of the collection was likely because the publication was the first guidebook to explain the Marsham collection. However, the great allocation of both physical and textual spaces for the collection in the early twentieth century demonstrate how the museum and the Bentlif Art Gallery treasured the Marsham collection of Japanese ceramics.

For at least around two decades, the integrity of objects and their values descended from the collector were retained for the Marsham collection. In the 1920s, the Marsham collection was still preserved, shown, and promoted as Marsham and Allchin desired. According to an article in *The Times* in 1924, the Marsham collection occupied ‘seven large cases’ to demonstrate ‘examples of nearly all the Japanese factories’, which is ‘rich in the delicate grey ware produced at Iwakurayama’.⁸¹⁰ This article was written when the first purpose-built Japanese gallery was opened in the museum. In 1924, Lord Bearsted funded the extension of the Lady Bearsted Wing to accommodate his wife, Fanny Samuel (1857–1927)’s collection of George Baxter’s prints and books on the upper floor, and their son, Walter Samuel’s collection of Japanese art on the ground floor.⁸¹¹

⁸⁰⁹ Allchin, 120.

⁸¹⁰ ‘A County Museum (From A Special Correspondent.)’, *The Times*, 25 September 1924.

⁸¹¹ Samantha Harris, ‘George Baxter: The Picture Printer of the nineteenth Century’, Maidstone Museum, 15 May 2020, accessed 25 January 2021, <https://museum.maidstone.gov.uk/george-baxter-the-picture-printer-of-the-nineteenth-century/>.

Over time, however, it became difficult to keep the collection and its memory together. In 1958 the Art Council of England held a travelling exhibition, *Japanese ceramics and prints: A Selection from the Henry Marsham Collection, the Museum and Art Gallery, Maidstone*.⁸¹² In the exhibition, Marsham's 60 Japanese ceramics were exhibited along with works from Samuel's collection of 44 prints.⁸¹³ However, the latter was wrongly attributed to the Marsham collection. The misunderstanding of provenance shows that the memory of collecting was clearly separated from the objects exhibited. While highlighting important objects from Marsham's collection, the exhibition only showed one Iwakurasan ware without dating.⁸¹⁴ The widening distance between the memory of the previous owner and the objects could be partly due to the nature of 'a democratic museum', where objects are valued for their meaning for the public, not for the deceased collector.⁸¹⁵

Uncasing

In 2012, the Maidstone Museum and Bentsley Art Gallery reopened after its refurbishment and the addition of a new East Wing (Fig. 130). In the Japanese Gallery, which was relocated to the upper floor of the new wing, part of Marsham's collection has been exhibited in display cases with other Japanese collections from different collectors. The original seriality nested in the seven special cases for the Marsham collection is now lost with the absence of the cases. The incoming Japanese collections, after Marsham, including those of Samuel and Todd,

⁸¹² Arts Council of Great Britain, *Japanese Ceramics and Prints. A Selection from the Henry Marsham Collection, the Museum and Art Gallery, Maidstone*. ([London]: The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1958).

⁸¹³ 'Going on Tour', *Kentish Express*, 29 August 1958, a slip of newspaper article, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum.

⁸¹⁴ Arts Council of Great Britain, *Japanese Ceramics and Prints*. '96 Lunch box (in three sections with lid), Iwakurayama ware, Date not known.'

⁸¹⁵ Duncan F. Cameron, 'The Museum, a Temple or the Forum', *Curator: The Museum Journal* 14, no. 1 (1971), 16.

enriched the museum collections. This resulted in the reorganisation of Japanese collections in the museum's limited space.



Fig. 130 Japanese Gallery, Maidstone Museum and Bentsley Art Gallery, 2013.

In museology and anthropology, galleries and cases have been critically discussed as framing tools of encasing representations of ‘the other’ into disciplines.⁸¹⁶ However, the lost special cases for the Marsham collection functioned as more than a reflection of the imposition of the museum structure onto objects. The boundary made by glass and mahogany secured a dedicated space for Marsham’s collection among various exhibits. The seven cases embodied the collective support for establishing the Japanese ceramic collection in Maidstone from the collector, the curator, the region and supporters in Japan during the 1900s.

⁸¹⁶ Pearce, ‘Collecting Reconsidered’, 202. Michael M. Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), 140, 23.

While boxing and unboxing at Maidstone changed the state of the Marsham collection, in Japan the fragmented memory of Marsham faded to a tale of a British noble collector who disposed of the boxes for Iwakurasan ware.

It is said that in the Meiji era, a British noble collected only Iwakurasan ware in Kyoto area and he brought them back [to England] disposing their boxes with *hakogaki* (information written on the box).⁸¹⁷

This dictionary entry published in 1934 shows us that the Japanese scholarly community in ceramics remembered the fact that there was a British collector of Iwakurasan ware while the details of the collector were forgotten. The act of disposing of the boxes portrays the anonymous collector as an insensible foreigner who did not understand the Japanese way of treasuring objects. Around three decades after he collected Japanese ceramics, the fictitious episode packaged his collecting in Japan as a rather peculiar incident of an ignorant British visitor. It is ironic for Marsham's effort to understand Iwakurasan ware that the Japanese did not show any interest in the contents of the boxes.

Marsham believed that his Japanese ceramics in Maidstone would receive international attention. However, his collection received inadequate attention from scholarly communities in the twentieth century in Britain and Japan. He had great attention and support from the Maidstone Museum as well as Kyoto locals in creating his collection. He was a donor, instructor, and interpreter of objects for the museum, as was Franks for the British Museum. Marsham's initiative in the value making process for his collection challenges the general understanding of curators' supremacy in museum activities. Collectors like Morse who publish their collection and scholarship are remembered from the Japanese side. However, it

⁸¹⁷ Tōki zenshū Kankōkai, 'Iwakurasan', *Tōki daijiten*, vol. 1, 1934, 313–314. Translated by Author. '因みに明治時代には、英國の某貴族が京都方面で岩倉山の遺作のみを集め、その箱書などは打捨て、中味ばかり持歸つたとの話がある'.

was hard for the majority of collectors who had no major publications on their collections to sustain the historical connections. Furthermore, unlike Franks who belonged to London-based and international societies, Marsham had no memberships to learned societies. His collecting was heavily localised in Kyoto and Maidstone, which made the collection unique but at the same time isolated from the centre. The next chapter locates Franks and Marsham's collecting in a wider context of producing values for Japanese tea ceramics from the 1860s to 1910s.

Chapter Seven: From Material to Culture: Networks and Values for Japanese Tea Ceramics in Britain, the 1860s–1910s

This thesis has looked at the value making process for Japanese ceramic utensils for tea in two museum collections. After Franks and during Marsham's collecting, new agents in arts and industry outside museums began engaging with the creation of values for tea ceramics. This chapter examines the treatment of teaware in design reform, the Japan Society, and exhibitions in London and discusses the new narratives and complexity about materiality and cultural representation of Japanese tea utensils, which intersects with and transits from the values made in the two collecting for the museums.

7.1 Design Reform, Art Movement, and Native Art

Alcock's Japanese Palissy

The physicality of Japanese stoneware and earthenware inspired a reform method for ceramic production in Britain in the late nineteenth century. While the import of Japanese and Chinese porcelain was the stimulus for the production of European and British porcelain in the eighteenth century, the nineteenth century revivalist taste for medieval European 'pottery' prepared the basis to re-evaluate the material produced and appreciated long before the production of porcelain worldwide. British and French viewers found compatibility in glazed earthenware with figurative decoration from Japan which recalled the aesthetics of the grotesque seen in Renaissance ceramics. In the catalogue of the 1862 London International Exhibition, two 'Palissy' vessels are listed in Alcock's Japanese ceramic collection under 'Pottery brought from Osaka'.⁸¹⁸ In the mid nineteenth century, collectors of European

⁸¹⁸ *London International Exhibition of 1862: The Illustrated Catalogue of the Industrial Department*, vol. 4 Foreign Division (London: Printed for Her Majesty's Commissioners,

ceramics highly appreciated the three-dimensional rustic glazed earthenware by Bernard Palissy (1510–89), the most distinguished French Renaissance potter (Fig. 131).



Fig. 131 Bernard Palissy, Oval dish with applied ornaments of water creatures, c.1560, British Museum.

Traditional earthenware became obsolete in the French industry for its fragility by the 1830s. However, new technology revived it as durable *faïence ingerçable*, which resists heat and frost.⁸¹⁹ Tamara Préaud and Aileen Dawson have pointed out that the taste for earthenware was rediscovered when new earthenware was invented. In France, Michael Bouquet (1807–90) and Jean-Charles Avisseau (1796–1861) created a new Palissy style ware.⁸²⁰ Minton, the most prominent ceramic manufacturer in Britain at that time also made a version.⁸²¹

1862), 96. No. 365: ‘Palissy dish, with raised and coloured flowers’; No. 369: ‘Japanese Palissy bowl, with flowers in relief (found in Yokohama)’.

⁸¹⁹ Préaud and Dawson, ‘Alexandre Brongniart and the Expositions des Produits de l’industrie française, 1819–44’, 122.

⁸²⁰ Préaud and Dawson, 23.

⁸²¹ For example, game dish and cover, majolica, Minton & Co., Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, 1866, Height: 15.5 cm, Width: 29.5 cm, Depth: 19 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, C.80 to B-1971, accessed 23 February 2021, <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O77994/tureen-minton--co/>.

In his perusing of shops in Osaka, Alcock found what he called ‘Palissy’ ware, which was a ceramic of Japanese origin.⁸²²

In passing through one of the streets, a quaint, grotesque looking piece of earthenware attracted my eye, and long before my Yaconins could wheel from the front, or come up from the rear embarrassed by the crowd, I had both priced and appropriated it, and was already deep in the farther recesses of the store, with a perfect wealth of ‘Palissy’ pottery, with raised fishes and fruit, gathered about me, and for the most part priced, when the obstructive arrived.⁸²³

What was called ‘Japanese Palissy’ is likely what is known today as ‘glazed soft stoneware’ in Japanese (*nanshitsu seyū tōki*), which is categorised as earthenware in British classifications. This term came to be in use after significant archaeological excavation at Benkei’ishi chō, Nakagyō-ku, Kyoto in 1987–89, which revealed diverse glazed earthenware/stoneware production for tea gatherings in the early seventeenth century.⁸²⁴ Overseas collections of Japanese ceramics formed in the Meiji era often include colourful glazed earthenware and stoneware made in a mould (Fig. 132). Besides the availability, the new interest of collectors’ in comparative studies could have triggered acquisitions. The comparison between Palissy and Japanese ceramics was not limited to their visual characteristics. In France, Émile Deshayes, curator of the Guimet Museum found similarity between the French artist Palissy and some Japanese ceramicists of the Edo period in the sacrifice of their fortune for the love and devotion to ceramic arts.⁸²⁵

⁸²² Rutherford Alcock, *The Capital of the Tycoon: A Narrative of a Three Years’ Residence in Japan* (New York: Harper & brothers, 1863), 110.

⁸²³ Alcock, *The Capital of the Tycoon*, 110.

⁸²⁴ Nagata Shin’ichi 永田信一, ‘Nanshitsu seyū tōki no shomondai: Kyoto shutsudo no nanshitsu seyū tōki wo tōshite 軟質施釉陶器の諸問題—京都出土の軟質施釉陶器を通して—’, in *Nanshitsu seyūtōki no seiritsu to tenkai: Kenkyūkai shiryōshū 軟質施釉陶器の成立と展開: 研究集会資料集*, ed. Kansai Tōjishi Kenkyūkai (Kyoto: Kansai Tōjishi Kenkyūkai, 2004), 1.

⁸²⁵ Tokunosuke Ueda and E. Deshayes, *La céramique japonaise: Les principaux centres de fabrication céramique au Japon* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1895), xii. ‘la présence au Japon de quelques-uns de ces Palissy, aimant assez leur art pour lui sacrifier leur fortune, tels que Guenriou et Minpei.’



Fig. 132 Bamboo basket-shaped dish, Minato ware, nineteenth century, Franks collection.

In the late 1870s, Japanese stoneware and earthenware inspired the artistic and technical development of the ceramic materials that had been dismissed in the British industry.

Amongst British ceramic products adopting Japanese designs exhibited at the Paris International Exhibition in 1878 were those made in Henry Doulton (1820–97)'s Lambeth Pottery, the first art pottery studio in England.⁸²⁶ In Alcock's eye, Lambeth pottery benefitted from Japanese pottery for the use of the 'coarsest clay, previously only used for such products as blacking bottles and drain pipes, an artistic as well as a utilitarian value, which enables it to vie with the more costly material of the finest porcelain.'⁸²⁷ Alcock saw the trace of 'individual mind and hand' in the 'cheapest and commonest' Japanese ceramics 'twisted into fanciful forms of leaf or flower, often with the mark of the thumb and finger left, which were worthy of all admiration.'⁸²⁸ Course earthenware and stoneware were seen as not having

⁸²⁶ Johannes Justus Rein, *The Industries of Japan: Together with an Account of Its Agriculture, Forestry, Arts, and Commerce. From Travels and Researches Undertaken at the Cost of the Prussian Government* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1889), 333. For Doulton and Co. see Emmanuel Cooper, *10,000 Years of Pottery*, 4th ed. (London: British Museum, 2010), 245–6.

⁸²⁷ Alcock, *Art and Art Industries in Japan*, 201.

⁸²⁸ Alcock, *Art and Art Industries in Japan*, 200.

artistic merits in Britain. However, in Japan, the same materials were appreciated as a creative medium and the skilful articulation of the clay enhanced their economic values. In the trials developing possibilities for the ceramic industry in Britain, ordinary Japanese ceramics were elevated to a new art form.

Charles Holme's Lessons from Chanoyu Pottery

The idealism in Japanese stoneware and earthenware persists in Charles Holme's (1848–1923) articles in art journals from the 1890s to the 1900s. In 1879, when Japanese products became ubiquitous in British daily life, Holme and Christopher Dresser (1834–1904) opened a depot at Farrington Road to exhibit and sell products from Japan, China and India selected by their 'expert' eyes.⁸²⁹ In 1893, with his industrial background, Holme founded *the Studio*, an international art journal, 'the rallying point and the radical centre of the new movements in the modern arts'.⁸³⁰ Malcolm Haslam positions *the Studio* as a mediator of appreciating Japanese tea ceramics in the development of Studio Pottery in Britain.⁸³¹ Different from Alcock's interest in ornamental aspects of Japanese ceramics, Holme taught ethical lessons derived from the material and culture of Japanese tea ceramics to seek an alternative to decorative ceramics made by machine production. This section looks at how Japanese ceramics were connected to British and international art movements as mediated by Holme's discussion on art journals.

⁸²⁹ 'Minor Topics', *Art Journal*, New series, 18 (1879), 166.

⁸³⁰ Charles Holme, *General Index to the First 21 Volumes of 'The Studio'* (London, 1902), 7, cited in Malcolm Haslam, 'Charles Holme', *Crafts*, no. 167 (11 December 2000): 24–25. Holme was the editor of *the Studio* from 1895 to 1918.

⁸³¹ Haslam, 'The Pursuit of Imperfection'.

Japanese Pottery (1892)

In 1892, Holme discussed Japanese Pottery as alternatives to Western ornamental ceramics in *the Art Journal*, the representative Victorian journal on art.⁸³² He criticised contemporary industrial ceramics for the extravagance of decoration, which was ethically wrong as it attributed to potters the role of the machine and positioned them as secondary to decorators.⁸³³ This view directly reflected the argument of the Arts and Crafts movement which disparaged machines and the division of labour in modern times. *The Studio* advocated the movement which developed from John Ruskin (1834–96)’s art theory.⁸³⁴ Moreover, Holme himself bought and resided in William Morris’s (1834–96) Red House at Bexley Heath from 1889.⁸³⁵

Old Japanese ceramics made for domestic use, especially for tea gatherings were idealised as antithesis of deteriorating ornamental ceramics because ‘The work of the potter mainly consists of the manipulation of clays and glazes; his use of the brush is only to give the finishing touches to his preceding labours.’⁸³⁶ Holme introduced how different Japanese kilns utilised the characteristics of local clay for suitable works and explains technical methods for forming Japanese ceramics by hand.⁸³⁷ However, Holme discussed the way in which Japanese potters handled materials more than technical advice. Japanese stoneware and earthenware for tea gatherings were idealised for their materiality following the function of

⁸³² George P. Landow, ‘The Art-Journal, 1850–1880: Antiquarians, the Medieval Revival, and The Reception of Pre-Raphaelitism’, *The Pre-Raphaelite Review* 2 (1979): 71–76.

⁸³³ Charles Holme, ‘Japanese Pottery’, *The Art Journal: New Series*, 1892, 154.

⁸³⁴ Haslam, ‘Charles Holme’, 24–25.

⁸³⁵ Haslam, 24–5.

⁸³⁶ Holme, ‘Japanese Pottery’, 158.

⁸³⁷ Holme, 156–7.

the objects. He concluded the paper by emphasising ‘native art’, which was persistent in his later publications.

In a history of Japanese ceramics, it is, of course, necessary to take account of all classes of vases, whether they be a true expression of native art, or whether they be influenced by Dutch, Chinese or French taste; but it is assuredly the former that will best repay careful analysis and study.⁸³⁸

The Potter’s Art: Object Lessons from the Far East (1902)

A decade later, he published his second article on Japanese domestic ceramics in his journal *the Studio*.⁸³⁹ At this point, French manufactures such as August Delaherche (1857–1940), Alexandre Bigot (1862–1927), Ernest Chaplet (1835–1889) and Clément Massier (1844–1917) produced ceramic works in a manner which ‘by the happy choice and manipulation of his clay and glazes, and his thorough understanding of the mysteries of firing, has rendered himself independent of the painter, or of any other collaborator’, which Holme observed as positive progress.⁸⁴⁰ Based on this new trend in the ceramic industry, this second essay was intended to further enlighten Western manufacturers by East Asian ceramics in tea taste. Holme describes old ceramic works ‘to discover that which is refined and legitimate in the potter’s craft, in order that we may thoroughly master the nature of its excellencies and apply the principles to manufacture of those objects for which there is a demand.’⁸⁴¹

It is not too much to emphasise that the new phase of appreciating Japanese teaware in twentieth century Britain embodied universal values associated with a perceived primitivist

⁸³⁸ Holme, 158.

⁸³⁹ Charles Holme, ‘The Potter’s Art. Object Lessons from the Far East’, *The Studio* 24 (1902): 48–57. Before this publication, Holme wrote on ceramics for whipped tea for Tomkinson’s collection catalogue. Charles Holme, ‘On the Pottery of the Cha-No-Yu or Tea Ceremony of Japan’, in *A Japanese Collection*, ed. Michael Tomkinson, vol. 2 (London: G. Allen, 1898), 104–7.

⁸⁴⁰ Holme, ‘The Potter’s Art’, 48–9.

⁸⁴¹ Holme, 50.

approach in creating works of art. Before Japanese ceramics, Holme discusses ‘peasant pottery of England and France, of Spain and Egypt’ as a product ‘solely for use by the people, (with) certain characteristics of form and colour which satisfy the aesthetic sense in a far higher and purer degree than the decorated objects made for the ornamentation of the drawing-room, and dubbed by the tradesman “art-pottery”.’⁸⁴² While antique Japanese ceramics belonged to the primitivist aesthetics, he argues that teaware directed by *chajin* embodied ‘marvels of technical knowledge in manufacture and dexterity of manipulation as to place them at once in the highest rank of ceramic art’, which fulfils ‘cultural taste’.⁸⁴³ In his romantic view, this cultural dignity derived from tea taste elevates the status of a peasant to a great artist.⁸⁴⁴

The Cha-No-Yu Pottery of Japan (1909)

Holme’s third and final article on Japanese ceramics featured the cultural background for tea utensils, starting with a perceived inadequate appreciation of the tea culture in the West.⁸⁴⁵ This paper is based on his lecture given at the Japan Society in 1908, where he served as the Vice President.⁸⁴⁶ In his essay, Holme claims that Western understanding of ‘the potter’s art of old Japan’ has been insufficient compared to other branches of Japanese art for its different aesthetics from the West, the scarcity of antique ‘genuine specimens’, and the lack of reliable guidance from the Japanese.⁸⁴⁷ To enlighten readers, Holme gave an overview of the historical and cultural contexts of the use and making of the objects and explained the

⁸⁴² Holme, 50.

⁸⁴³ Holme, ‘The Potter’s Art’ 50.

⁸⁴⁴ Holme, 51.

⁸⁴⁵ Charles Holme, ‘The Cha-No-Yu Pottery of Japan’, *The Studio* 46 (February 1909): 29–45.

⁸⁴⁶ Charles Holme, ‘The Pottery of the Cha-No-Yu’, *Transactions and Proceedings of Japan Society, London* 8 (1910): 163–86.

⁸⁴⁷ Holme, ‘The Cha-No-Yu Pottery of Japan’, 29–30.

regional characteristics of the wares based on his previous articles. Importantly, he crystallised the way in which old Japanese tea utensils were made with the concept of ‘Utility and Truth’.

The simplicity of the *Cha-no-yu* pottery is not, as some writers have described it to be, a matter of mere affectation or pretence, for underlying it are some of the soundest principles of art—principle which have governed the production of all forms of construction in the greatest periods of the world’s history. Of these principles Utility and Truth are the first essentials.⁸⁴⁸

This concept highly likely came from Ruskin’s claim, ‘the entire vitality of art depends upon its being either full of truth, or full of use’, in his famous lecture at the University of Oxford in 1870.⁸⁴⁹ Japanese ceramics of the past connected to a British reformist art movement as representative of ‘Utility and Truth’, which resulted from Holme’s idealism about native arts and the narrative of Japanese tea culture as philosophy. To support the latter, Holme evaluated the aesthetics of tea providing the philosophical background—Zen Buddhism, Laozi, and Rikyū quoting Okakura Kakuzō 岡倉覚三’s *Book of Tea* (1906), the first major book dedicated to tea culture written by a Japanese in English.⁸⁵⁰

The *Book of Tea* promoted the Japanese tea ceremony as an ideal soft power to raise the respect for Asian culture, namely India, China, and Japan, among Western readers. Okakura argued that the western countries called Japan barbarous when the country was peaceful, but they regarded Japan as civilised after the country won the wars with Qing China (1894–5) and Russia (1904–5).⁸⁵¹ He intended to shift the Western attention from ‘the Art of Death’ that Nitobe Innazō 新渡戸稲造’s *Bushido* (1900) depicted to the ‘Religion of the Art of

⁸⁴⁸ Holme, 31.

⁸⁴⁹ John Ruskin, *Lectures on Art* (London: G. Allen, 1904), 116. This is a part of the discussion on ‘The Relation of Art to Use’.

⁸⁵⁰ Holme, ‘The Cha-No-Yu Pottery of Japan’, 32.

⁸⁵¹ Okakura Kakuzō, *The Book of Tea* (New York: Duffield, 1906), 7.

life'.⁸⁵² Eastern superiority in hospitality is shown by comparing afternoon tea in the West and the long history of tea in the East.⁸⁵³

Explaining the philosophical background of Tang, Song, and Ming Chinese tea in the appreciation of tea, Okakura claimed the significance of Japanese tea culture as a successor of the 'canon' of Song style whipped tea culture.⁸⁵⁴ He provided each Chinese style tea with an attribution: 'classic' Tang cake tea, 'romantic' Song whipped tea, and 'naturalistic' Ming steeped tea.⁸⁵⁵ The Ming-style tea received the lowest evaluation, which corresponded to that of the dynasty. He described Ming China:

He has become modern, that is to say, old and disenchanted. He has lost that sublime faith in illusions which constitutes the eternal youth and vigor of the poets and ancients . . . His Leaf-tea is often wonderful with its flower like aroma, but the romance of the Tang and Sung ceremonials are not to be found in his cup.⁸⁵⁶

Because of this low evaluation of Ming steeped tea, there is no explanation about Japanese steeped tea in his book. In fact, this neglect of steeped tea overlaps with his hostility to literati paintings, which developed during the Edo period with a great impact from Ming and Qing Chinese paintings.⁸⁵⁷ The absence of Japanese steeped tea in the *Book of Tea* echoes Holme's understanding where no steeped tea culture is considered as a part of Japanese tea culture.

Art journals: Connecting Arts and Movements

The appearance of a series of Holme's discussions about tea ceramics in art journals illustrates that periodicals functioned as important media to shape values along with

⁸⁵² Inazō Nitobe, *Bushido: The Soul of Japan: An Exposition of Japanese Thought* (Leeds & Biddle, 1900), 72–5. Okakura, *The Book of Tea*, 7, 43.

⁸⁵³ Okakura, 13.

⁸⁵⁴ Okakura, 43.

⁸⁵⁵ Okakura, 29.

⁸⁵⁶ Okakura, 39.

⁸⁵⁷ See Introduction.

collecting for museums. Both museums and periodicals shared a didactic mission to educate public taste as well as to instruct makers.⁸⁵⁸ As an art critic and supporter of a new art and design movement, he taught the material and cultural lessons of Japanese ceramics in journals with reproduced photographic images of selected whipped tea utensils from his collection (Fig. 133) and other sources including his artist friend Frank Brangwyn (1867–1956) (Fig. 134). A bowl cited in his article was one of the SKM's acquisitions of Japanese ceramics from the Philadelphia Exhibition in 1877 (Fig. 135).⁸⁵⁹



Fig. 133 Attributed to Tōshirō, Tea jar, *The Studio* 46, 1909.

Fig. 134 Attributed to Ogata Kenzan, Tea bowl, Frank Brangwyn collection, *The Studio* 46, 1909.



Fig. 135 Bowl in style of Kenzan, SKM collection, *The Art Journal*, 1892.

⁸⁵⁸ Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, 'The Periodical and the Art Market: Investigating the "Dealer-Critic System" in Victorian England', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 41, no. 4 (2008), 325.

⁸⁵⁹ Franks, *Japanese Pottery*, 64, catalogue no.112.

While Holme developed his discussion based on similar types and makers of Japanese ceramics in the Franks and Marsham collections, the texts and images framed the utensils as inspirational tools for the British ceramic industry. Besides the historical and regional contexts of objects, he carefully described the forms, texture, and techniques applied to given objects for specific functionality.

The internationalism of *the Studio* filtered his understanding of Japanese ceramics. Holme's primitivist advocacy for 'peasant art', which connects to his argument for Japanese teaware, was a part of an international trend to reform art and design through something regarded as pure. *The Studio* and a series of his edited volumes covered this subject for Italy, Sweden, Austria and Hungary, Russia, Holland from 1905 to 1913.⁸⁶⁰ In the 1890s–1910s, avant-garde artists in Germany, Czech, and Russia collected folk art as inspirational sources and displayed them in their exhibitions along with world arts including Japanese works.⁸⁶¹ Materiality and the philosophy of tea ceramics elevated the status of 'native' art in the expansive scope of modern art around the turn of the century, which blurred the distinction between ethnography and arts.⁸⁶² The concept of art became important not only in the study of art but also in ethnography. Peter N. Miller points out that art in ethnology was the 'the fast-track to the spirit of a people'.⁸⁶³

⁸⁶⁰ For example, Charles Holme, ed., *Peasant Art in Austria and Hungary* (London The Studio, 1911). Charles Holme, ed., *Peasant Art in Italy* (London: 'The Studio', 1913).

⁸⁶¹ Tomáš Winter, 'A Fascination with Folk Art', *Fascinace Lidovým Uměním Modernismus a Avantgarda v Mnichově, Praze a Moskvě Kolem Roku 1913*. 64, no. 3/4 (May 2016), 240–253.

⁸⁶² Elizabeth A. Williams, 'Art and Artifact at the Trocadero', in *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, ed. George W. Stocking Jr. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 148.

⁸⁶³ Peter N. Miller, 'The Germanisches Nationalmuseum and the Museums Debate in the Later nineteenth Century', in *The Challenge of the Object: 33rd Congress of the International Committee of the History of Art, Nuremberg, fifteenth–twentieth July 2012*, ed. Georg Ulrich Großmann and Petra Krutisch, vol. 1 (Nuremberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 2013), 371.

This international wave of primitivism even comes to Japan. Holme's discussion of Japanese ceramics anticipates Yanagi Muneyoshi 柳宗悦 (Sōetsu 1889–1961)'s *mingei*, folk art movement in Japan. Holme argues that art is produced 'unconsciously' when a worker only intended 'the perfection of the object for the purpose required', which has echoes in Yanagi's theorisation of crafts in the 1920s.⁸⁶⁴ Despite the fact that Yanagi claims his originality was independent from the West, it is known that the British Arts and Crafts Movement had an impact on Yanagi's philosophy through his friends such as a British potter Bernard Leach (1887–1979) and a Japanese potter Tomimoto Kenkichi 富本憲吉 (1886–1963) who studied in the U.K.⁸⁶⁵

While Holme's appreciation of domestic Japanese ceramics came from the internationalization of native art, his discussion contributed to a nationalistic history of Japanese ceramics. Holme argues that the ideal ceramic art is made with 'cultural taste', in the Japanese case, under the direction of *chajin*. Because the taste elevates potters as great artists, he argues that what he called 'native art' is more instructive than ceramics made with foreign influence or made for foreigners. This hatred for foreign impact reduced interest in the comparative approach that situated Japanese ceramics in world ceramics, which was evident with Franks.

⁸⁶⁴ Holme, 'The Potter's Art', 50. Richard L. Wilson, ed., *Mingei: Japanese Folk Art*, Working Papers in Japan Studies 9 (Tokyo: International Christian University, 2007), 54, 56, 60.

⁸⁶⁵ Yuko Kikuchi, 'The Myth of Yanagi's Originality: The Formation of "Mingei" Theory in Its Social and Historical Context', *Journal of Design History* 7, no. 4 (1994): 262–3. Tomimoto was a reader of *the Studio*.

There are problems with how to define ‘native’ art. Holme confines it only to whipped tea, and steeped teawares are excluded like in Okakura’s work, though Banko teapots were mentioned in the first article.⁸⁶⁶ With the focus on national originality, an artificial distinction of true and false native art was made within Japanese ceramics. Holme highly evaluated Kyoto ware as a representation of ‘native art’. His understanding of ‘native’ art transposed from local to national. The interest in Kyoto ware is shared with Marsham. However, Holme mostly evaluated famous named artists for the synthesis of decoration and the form of their vessels as well as the decorative features which are neither Chinese nor Korean.

To Ninsei, as well as to Kenzan, Japan owes a profound debt of gratitude. Others were content to copy the features of the productions of China and Corea, but Ninsei and Kenzan opened an era of prosperity to their co-workers by suggesting to them new paths which would lead them to a truer national expression of their art.⁸⁶⁷

The same argument had been made by Captain F. Brinkley, who regards Ninsei as the first potter ‘entirely free from alien influences’ and praises Kenzan as a ‘perfect representative of the genuine Japanese school’.⁸⁶⁸ This view was popularised by Japanese scholars and it became a priori in the history of Japanese ceramics even now. As pointed out by Oka Yoshiko, it was from 1905 when Japanese art historians started to discuss Ninsei and Kenzan as the master potters of Japanese style in *Kokka*, the oldest Japanese art journal.⁸⁶⁹ The narrative of British critics had been internalised in Japanese ceramics history.

⁸⁶⁶ Holme, ‘Japanese Pottery’, 156. Holme evaluated the variety of hand techniques for Banko ware, but the kiln received his criticism for the hustling finishing and weak decoration.

⁸⁶⁷ Holme, ‘The Cha-No-Yu Pottery of Japan’, 39.

⁸⁶⁸ Captain F. Brinkley, *Japan, Its History, Arts, and Literature*, Library ed., vol. 2 (Boston: J. B. Millet Co., 1902), 182, 191.

⁸⁶⁹ Oka Yoshiko, *Kinsei Kyōyaki no kenkyū* 近世京焼の研究 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan 思文閣出版, 2011), 16.

7.2 Japan Society: A Network

Holme published his articles about Japanese tea ceramics in art journals and presented his paper at the Japan Society of London where he was one of the founding members. The society was established in 1891 for ‘the encouragement of the study of the Japanese Language, Literature, History and Folk-Lore, of Japanese Art, Science, and Industries of the Social Life and Economic Condition of the Japanese People, past and present, and of all Japanese matters’.⁸⁷⁰ The significance of the society has been discussed by Hugh Cortazzi for the development of Anglo-Japanese understanding and John Walter de Gruchy for ‘institutionalisation of *Japonisme*’.⁸⁷¹ The leading Japanese art collectors and promoters at the end of the nineteenth century belonged to the society.⁸⁷² Bowes, Morse, and Brinkley, who shaped the history of Japanese ceramics through their catalogues and discussions, were members, so were Japanese dealers like Wakai and Hayashi Tadamasa. Okakura was an honourable member of the society.

Franks and Marsham were not members of the Japan Society. However, ICO, the Anthropological Institute, the Society of Arts, to which Franks belonged developed friendly relations with the Japan Society.⁸⁷³ It is reasonable to assume that he was able to communicate with the new society through institutional channels as well as with the society’s

⁸⁷⁰ Japan Society of London, *Transactions and Proceedings*, vol. 1 (London: Japan Society of London, 1893), 133.

⁸⁷¹ Hugh Cortazzi, ‘Japan Society: A Hundred-Year History’, in *Britain and Japan, 1859–1991: Themes and Personalities*, ed. Hugh Cortazzi and Gordon Daniels (London; New York: Routledge, 1991), 1–53. Hugh Cortazzi, ‘Japan 2001 and the Japan Society (London)’, *Arts of Asia* 32, no. 2 (2002): 47–57. John Walter De Gruchy, *Orienting Arthur Waley: Japonism, Orientalism, and the Creation of Japanese Literature in English* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 16–33.

⁸⁷² Cortazzi, ‘Japan 2001 and the Japan Society (London)’, 50.

⁸⁷³ Japan Society of London, *Transactions and Proceedings*, vol. 1, 130–1.

members who also belong to the BFAC such as Frank Dillon and R. Phéne Spiers.⁸⁷⁴ Also, Satow, the close friend of Franks and Marsham was a founding member of the society, so they could hear about the society's activities from him.⁸⁷⁵ As for Marsham, the popularity of the society in Kent would explain another reason why his collection was appreciated in the region. When the society was established, Kent accommodated the second largest population of members with 15 people including Holme, living in the Red House.⁸⁷⁶ Marcus Samuel was also a member from 1892.⁸⁷⁷ C. J. Todd, another donor of Japanese ceramics to both the British Museum and the Maidstone Museum belonged to the society.⁸⁷⁸ Therefore, understanding the society and its discussions is meaningful for contextualising not only Holme's arguments but also how the views towards Franks's and Marsham's collections were shaped in the 1890s onwards.

Institutional Network

The society has been a hub of Japan-related networks in the U.K. and beyond. Kudō Yoshiaki and Miyauchi Satoshi claim that the institution functioned as a research centre and a salon, which promoted the members' outputs of Japanese art-related publications in the 1890s including in the *Studio*.⁸⁷⁹ This cultural institution made the worldwide network of Japanese studies visible as a hub rather than creating a completely new connection. Founding members brought their own networks to the society. Its membership visualises the web of different

⁸⁷⁴ Japan Society of London, *Transactions and Proceedings*, vol. 1, 134–5. Both Dillon and Spiers were founding members of the Japan Society.

⁸⁷⁵ Japan Society of London, 135.

⁸⁷⁶ Japan Society of London, 206.

⁸⁷⁷ Japan Society of London, 191.

⁸⁷⁸ Japan Society of London, 195.

⁸⁷⁹ Kudō Yoshiaki 工藤芳彰 and Miyauchi Satoshi 宮内慙, 'Japan sosaei no shoki no katsudō to "Sutūdio" shi ni tuite ジャパン・ソサイエティの初期の活動と『ステューディオ』誌について [The early Research Activities of the Japan Society, London and The Studio]', *Proceedings of the Annual Conference of JSSD*, 45 (1998): 42–43.

circles—learned and semi-learned societies, diplomatic and Japanese communities, and media that collaboratively made up the institution.

As the first ICO in 1873 related to Franks's collecting of Japanese ceramics (chapter two), the international academic community had a key role in extending the study of Japanese art in Britain in the 1890s. At a meeting of the Japanese section of the ICO held in London on the 9th September 1891, Arthur Diósy (1856–1923), a secretary of the section, proposed the scheme 'for the establishment in London of a society for the encouragement of Japanese studies and for the purpose of bringing together all in the United Kingdom, and throughout the world, interested in Japanese matters'.⁸⁸⁰ After the proposal received support from attendees, a resolution to found the society in London was passed.⁸⁸¹ Goh Daigorō, a chancellor of the Japanese Consulate General in London served as a secretary along with Diósy.⁸⁸² The two secretaries acted as temporal secretaries for the organising council of the society, closely working with F. T. Piggott (1852–1925), a former legal advisor for the Japanese cabinet.⁸⁸³ The society's close connection to the Japanese government also reminds us of the first ICO when Japan was chosen as a main theme of the conference.⁸⁸⁴ Coincidentally, De Rosney, the French Japanologist who led the first ICO in Paris presided over the meeting.⁸⁸⁵ In December 1891, the organising council had three meetings at the house of the Society of Arts, the Adelphi, growing the members from 48 to 124 plus two corresponding members.⁸⁸⁶

⁸⁸⁰ Japan Society of London, *Transactions and Proceedings*, vol. 1, 134.

⁸⁸¹ Japan Society of London, 133.

⁸⁸² Japan Society of London, 133–4. H. Cordier, 'The Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists', *T'oung Pao* 2, no. 5 (1891): 413.

⁸⁸³ Japan Society of London, *Transactions and Proceedings*, vol. 1, 134.

⁸⁸⁴ Japan Society of London, 134–5.

⁸⁸⁵ Japan Society of London, 133.

⁸⁸⁶ Japan Society of London, 134–6.

From the beginning of its existence, the society developed institutional relationships with organisations which had discussed Japanese topics such as the Asiatic Society of Japan, OAG, Société Sinico–Japonaise, the Geographical Society of Lisbon, the Society of Arts in London.⁸⁸⁷ While Diósy claimed that he was preparing the idea of founding the society for several years, the seed of the future Japan society can be found in other sources as well.⁸⁸⁸ On the 30th July 1879, a meeting to discuss the establishment of ‘a central Japan or Nippon Institute’ was held at the Society of Arts.⁸⁸⁹ Alcock chaired the lecture by Charles Pfoundes (1840–1907) and insisted on the necessity of acquiring knowledge of the philosophy, literature, and art of Japan.⁸⁹⁰ Following the discussion, participants enjoyed viewing ‘Rare examples of Japanese Art in textiles, in porcelain, in lacquer-work, and paper’ in the room.⁸⁹¹ Having a lecture and discussion on Japan and viewing Japanese objects, the structure of this meeting itself was like a proto Japan Society. The profiles of participants even suggest the characteristics of the membership of the cultural institute a decade later. Attendees of the meeting included Edward Reed (1830–1906), a naval architect who designed torpedo boats for the Japanese navy in 1879, Hyde Clarke (1815–1895), an engineer and philologist, and John Forbes-Robertson (1822–1903), an art critic and editor.⁸⁹² Reed became the Vice

⁸⁸⁷ Japan Society of London, *Transactions and Proceedings*, vol. 1, 130.

⁸⁸⁸ Japan Society of London, 133. For Diósy’s biography, see Nagaoka Shōzō 長岡 祥三, ‘Nihon kyōkai no sōritsusha Āsā Dioshī 日本協会の創立者アーサー・ディオシー [Arthur Diosy, Founder of the Japan Society]’, *Historical English Studies in Japan*, no. 29 (1996): 1–12.

⁸⁸⁹ ‘Minor Topics The Proposed Japan Institute’, *Art Journal*, New series, 18 (1879), 221.

⁸⁹⁰ Pfoundes gave another lecture at the Society of Arts in 1880. C. Pfoundes, ‘Art in Japan’, *The Journal of the Society of Arts* 28, no. 1429 (1880): 418–28.

⁸⁹¹ ‘Minor Topics The Proposed Japan Institute’, 221.

⁸⁹² Hans Lengerer, ‘Torpedo Boats of the Imperial Japanese Navy: Part I’, *Warship International* 54, no. 1 (2017), 64. Sir Edward James Reed, *Japan: Its History, Traditions, and Religions, with the Narrative of a Visit in 1879* (London: John Murray, 1880), vii, xxv. Reed acknowledges Hyde Clarke for his ethnological input on Japanese language.

President of the Japan Society in February 1892, and Clarke was elected as a member in 1893.⁸⁹³

Club-Society-Journal Network

The institutional networks of the Japan Society show that pre-existing industrial, academic, and diplomatic incentives to discuss Japanese things supported its foundation. Besides, the *fin-de-siecle* literary and artistic circles contributed to the formation of the society. Holme served as a council member of the society along with Arthur Lasenby Liberty (1843–1917), the founder of Liberty & Co, and Alfred East (1843–1913), a watercolour artist.⁸⁹⁴ They were members of a bibliophilic dinner club called *Ye Sette of Odd Volumes*. Toni Huberman suggests that the club was the founding body of the Japan Society.⁸⁹⁵ Holme was a bridge between the dining club, the society and art journals. He brought in the largest number of acquaintances—18 members to the society from the foundation to the end of April 1893.⁸⁹⁶

In 1878, the *Sette* was founded for ‘Conviviality and Mutual Admiration’ by an antiquarian bookseller Bernard Quaritch (1819–1899), a publisher Charles Wyman (1832–1909), and their daily lunch friends.⁸⁹⁷ Each member, an ‘Odd Volume’, achieved the ‘Perfect State’

⁸⁹³ Japan Society of London, *Transactions and Proceedings*, vol.1, 175, 190.

⁸⁹⁴ Japan Society of London, *Transactions and Proceedings*, vol.1, 134–5.

⁸⁹⁵ Toni Huberman, ‘Charles Holme (1848–1928), Founder of The Studio and Connoisseur of Japanese Art’, in *Biographical Portraits: Biographical Portraits*, ed. Hugh Cortazzi (Leiden: BRILL, 2007), 257.

⁸⁹⁶ Japan Society of London, *Transactions and Proceedings*, vol. 1, 213.

⁸⁹⁷ Quaritch’s name can be found in the list of members for the first ICO as an ‘Oriental bookseller’. *Congrès international des orientalistes, Congrès international des orientalistes: compte-rendu de la première session, Paris, 1873*, vol. 3, CXXXI. George Clulow, *Report of a Conversazione given at Willis’s Rooms, King Street, St. James’s, on Tuesday, June 8th, 1886*, O.V. Miscellanies 15 (London: Imprinted by Bro. C.W.H. Wyman, at his printing-house in Great Queen street, over against Lincoln’s Inn fields, 1886), 9.

when the set of 21 volumes dined together monthly.⁸⁹⁸ The number of ‘Odd Volumes’ followed ‘the number of volumes of Variorum Shakespeare of 1821’, but later 21 ‘Supplemental Odd Volumes’ were added to be elected.⁸⁹⁹ The ‘Odd Volumes’ called each other ‘Brother’ and they chose an ‘official title’ or a unique pseudonym.⁹⁰⁰ It is natural to find Holme, or *Pilgrim*, as a new member in 1886 when the interest in East Asia was prevailing in the group. He served as the secretary in the next year and as president in 1890.

With exception of ‘Anthropology, Religion and Politics’ defined in Rule 10, any matters could be topics of discussion, including China and Japan.⁹⁰¹ George Clulow presented a paper on ‘Japanese Art Metal Work’ in the mid-1880s.⁹⁰² In February 1884, under president W. M. Thomson ‘a Chinese evening’ was held.⁹⁰³ At this event, Chinese books and arts filled a large room of the gathering. Quaritch proposed a toast to the health of the Chinese Emperor. Fung Yee, the Chinese Legation representative and Guies, Vice Consul from Shanghai seconded the toast.⁹⁰⁴ Holme himself lectured on ‘New Year’s Day in Japan’ in 1888.⁹⁰⁵ In the following year, he visited Japan for the first time with East and Liberty, who became Supplemental Odd Volumes in 1888 and 1895, respectively. The *Sette* bid farewell to Holme and East over dinner before their departure.⁹⁰⁶ A postscript of Holmes’ poetic letter to Clulow

⁸⁹⁸ Clulow, Report of a *Coversazione* given at Willis’s Rooms, King Street, St. James’s, on Tuesday, June 8th, 1886, 10.

⁸⁹⁹ Clulow, 16.

⁹⁰⁰ Clulow, 15.

⁹⁰¹ *Sette of Odd Volumes, The Year-Boke of the Odd Volumes: An Annual Record of the Transactions of the Sette. Eleventh Year 1888–89. President Brother T.C. Venables, Antiquary to the Sette* (London: Imprinted for Brother C.W.H. Wyman, 1890), 17.

⁹⁰² Clulow, Report of a *Coversazione* given at Willis’s Rooms, King Street, St. James’s, on Tuesday, June 8th, 1886, 18.

⁹⁰³ Clulow, 13

⁹⁰⁴ Clulow, 13.

⁹⁰⁵ Charles Holme, *New Year’s Day in Japan* (London: Imprinted by Bro. C.W.H. Wyman, at his printing-house in Great Queen street, over against Lincoln’s Inne fields, 1888).

⁹⁰⁶ *Sette of Odd Volume, The Year-Boke of the Odd Volumes, Eleventh Year 1888–89*, 58–9.

in 1887 reveals that his aim of visiting Japan was ethnographical and the *Sette* financially supported his travel:

The Pilgrim a journey would make to Japan,
To make “a few notes” on the Japanese man,
His habits and customs, his moods and his tenses
The Sette to pay all his trav’ling expenses.⁹⁰⁷

The *Sette*’s heyday certainly overlapped the height of late Victorian aestheticism where Japanese things, objects, and music were appreciated. During this period, the *Sette* strengthened the connection with members of the Japan Society mediated by Holme. After his return from Japan, Holme presented a paper on ‘Indoor Games of Japan’ and showed his collection of games from *shōgi*, *go*, incense, to *kaiawase* or the shell matching game.⁹⁰⁸ At this gathering on 6 June 1890, he invited Anderson, the first President of the Japan Society and William Gowland, another founding member of the Society.⁹⁰⁹ Both Anderson and Gowland were significant benefactors for the British Museum during Franks’s curatorship.⁹¹⁰ With Franks’s funding, Gowland brought three hundred Japanese tomb objects to the Museum in 1889.⁹¹¹ At the very first exhibition at the Japan Society in 1892, Gowland exhibited his 124 hanging scrolls mainly of Shijō school painters and gave a paper on the paintings.⁹¹²

⁹⁰⁷ Charles Holme, ‘Letter from Brother Chales Holme, Pilgrim, to His Oddship Brother G. Clulow; Read at the Meeting of the Sette of Odd Volumes, Held at Willi’s Rooms, February 11, 1887’, in *Inaugural Address*, O.V. Miscellanies 17 (London: Imprinted by Bro. C.W.H. Wyman, at his printing-house in Great Qveen street, over against Lincoln’s Inne fields, 1887), 52.

⁹⁰⁸ Sette of Odd Volumes, *The Year-Boke of the Odd Volumes: An Annual Record of the Transactions of the Sette. Thirteenth Year, 1890–91* (London: Chiswick Press, 1892), 23.

⁹⁰⁹ Sette of Odd Volumes, *The Year-Boke of the Odd Volume. Thirteenth Year*, 23.

⁹¹⁰ For Anderson, see Chapter Three.

⁹¹¹ Harrison-Hall, ‘Oriental Pottery and Porcelain’, 223. Smith, ‘The Art and Antiquities of Japan’, 268. For Gowland, see Simon Kaner, ‘William Gowland (1842–1922) Pioneer of Japanese Archaeology’, 271–80.

⁹¹² William Gowland, ‘Naturalistic Art of Japan’, *Transactions and Proceedings of Japan Society, London* 1 (1893): 73–110.

‘A Japanese Night’ at the Limmer Hotel on the 3rd June 1892 is often cited as a literal and aesthetic social pinnacle of the dining club, with notable guests including Oscar Wilde.⁹¹³ In this event, members of the Japan Society played key roles as Odd Volumes as well as guests. Marcus Huish (1843–1921), *Arts-man*, one of the founding members of the Japan Society and BFAC member who became the Supplemental Odd Volume in that year, read his paper ‘The Art of Old Japan’.⁹¹⁴ As with the ‘Chinese evening’, Japanese diplomatic guests, Captain Y. Kawara and Ōkoshi Narinori 大越 成徳 (1856–1923) a Japanese Acting Council General in London were present.⁹¹⁵ They were among other guests from the Japan Society. This event could have worked as the mutual introduction of the two societies with a shared interest in Japan.

At the following gathering in December 1892, Silvanus Thomson, a scientist, delivered a paper, ‘Ye Magic Mirror of Old Japan’.⁹¹⁶ For this occasion, Holme again invited several guests from the Japan Society including Anderson, Liberty, Diósy, and Ōkoshi. Anderson was elected as a member of the *Sette* with the support of his fellow Japanese Society members there.⁹¹⁷

⁹¹³ Anne Anderson, “‘There Is Divinity in Odd Numbers’”: Oscar’s Encounter with Some Very Odd Volumes’, *The Wildean* 43 (July 2013): 77–86. Ellen Crowell, ‘The Necromancer and the Seer: Bibliophilia at the Fin de Siecle’, *Times Literary Supplement*, 18 December 2015, 15–17.

⁹¹⁴ Sette of Odd Volumes, *The Year Boke of the Odd Volumes: An Annual Record of the Transactions of the Sette. Fifteenth Year, 1892–93* (London: Bedford Press, 1893), 65, 142.

⁹¹⁵ Sette of Odd Volume, *The Year-Boke of the Odd Volume. Fifteenth Year*, 111. Ōkoshi was also an organizing member of the Japan Society. Japan Society of London, *Transactions and Proceedings*, vol. 1, 134.

⁹¹⁶ Sette of Odd Volume, *The Year-Boke of the Odd Volume. Fifteenth Year*, 100–2. Silvanus P. Thompson, *Ye Magick Mirrour of Old Japan* (London: Imprinted for the author at the Chiswick press, and to be had of no booksellers, 1893).

⁹¹⁷ Sette of Odd Volume, *The Year-Boke of the Odd Volume. Fifteenth Year*.

There was a fluid interaction between members and guests at the Japan Society and the *Sette*. The club had invited potential Japan Society members before the society was founded. The *Sette* invited the society's founding members as guests and some of them became Odd volumes. This fluidity was achieved not only through the topics but the similar activities between the two. The *Sette* developed a function of 'a very mildly sub-learned Society for the private printing and circulation of works by and among its own members'.⁹¹⁸ Giving lectures, publishing, and exhibiting books and objects, their intellectual social activities and topics of discussion overlapped with those of learned societies. Even learned societies themselves were once a topic of their literary inquiry. In May 1886, Quaritch, *Bibliographer*, presented a paper about the history of learned societies and printing clubs in Britain and Ireland and exhibited rare books.⁹¹⁹ However, as Holme told in his speech at the *Sette*, the lecture should not be too academic. Discussing Japan for a literary but non-scholarly audience was in demand at the *Sette*. This popular appreciation of Japanese themes also supported the society whose members had various backgrounds.

Moreover, the involvement of Holme and Huish in the *Sette* and the Japan Society shows that the development of the study and collecting of Japanese objects combined with what Cynthia White and Harrison White termed the 'Dealer-Critic System' of the nineteenth century art market.⁹²⁰ Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich observed the system or close connection between Victorian critics and commercial galleries, which directed contemporary art

⁹¹⁸ Charles Holme, 'Inaugural Address of His Oddship, Brother Charles Holme, Read Before the Sette, April, 11th 1890', in *The Year-Boke of the Odd Volumes: An Annual Record of the Transactions of the Sette. Thirteenth Year, 1890–9*, by Sette of Odd Volumes, vol. 3 (London: Chiswick Press, 1892), 11.

⁹¹⁹ Holme, 'Inaugural Address', 22. Bernard Quaritch, *Account of the Great Learned Societies and Associations and of the Printing Clubs of Great Britain and Ireland*, O.V. Miscellanies 14 (London: Imprinted to ye Sette by Bro. C.W.H. Wyman, at his printing-house in Great Queen street, over against Lincoln's Inne fields, 1886).

⁹²⁰ Fletcher and Helmreich, 'The Periodical and The Art Market', 324.

scenes.⁹²¹ This system can be applied to the Japanese art market in Britain. While Holme retired from his previous job of importing products from Japan and other countries before joining the *Sette* and the Japan Society, his commercial background was a foundation for his success in publishing his journals of arts and design, where Japanese arts were discussed actively. Huish, a collector and editor for *the Art Journal* in 1881–1893 was another council member at the society. He introduced Siegfried Bing's *Le Japon artistique* (Artistic Japan) for English readers as the supervisor of the translated version.⁹²² Huish also directed the Fine Art Society, Bond Street, an influential art publisher and commercial gallery in 1879–1911. In 1888, he hosted the Japanese Art exhibition at the Fine Art Society with C. H. Read (1857–1929), the successor of Franks, and Kataoka Masayuki 片岡政行, a Japanese art dealer.⁹²³ This loan exhibition focussed on Japanese 'Ornamental Art' including ceramics because in the same year the British Museum held an exhibition of Japanese hanging scrolls, and the BFAC hosted Anderson's collection of Japanese prints and books.⁹²⁴ The Fine Art Society closely connected to the Japan Society and promoted Japan-inspired works.⁹²⁵

Holme and Huish's activities as a dealer, critic, collector, *Odd Volume*, and member of the Japan Society suggest that the Dealer-Critic system for them did not end in commercial galleries and publication. The network further connects to intellectual and social spaces represented by the *Sette* and Society. The Dealer-Critic system of the nineteenth-century art market raised the issue of the complexity of the critic's role between didactic and commercial. The connection of the society, literary and artistic worlds, art journals, and the

⁹²¹ Fletcher and Helmreich, 324.

⁹²² Anne Helmreich, 'Marcus Huish (1843–1921)', *Victorian Review* 37, no. 1 (2011), 29.

⁹²³ Helmreich, 'Marcus Huish', 28. His series of articles on Japanese art in the *Art Journal* was later revised and published as Marcus B. Huish, *Japan and Its Art*, 3rd ed. (London: B. T. Batsford; The Fine Art Society, 1912).

⁹²⁴ 'Exhibitions', *Art journal*, London, Mar 1888, 94.

⁹²⁵ Cortazzi, 'Japan 2001 and the Japan Society (London)', 50.

commercial gallery bridged by the two individuals and their friends' positions of the arts and culture of Japan as educational, profitable, social, and aesthetic in continuity with public, commercial and a private closed circle. In other words, they weaved a Dealer-Critic-Club-Society-Journal thread for the promotion of Japanese arts.

Lecturing on Tea Culture: From Custom to Philosophy

In March 1899, the Japan Society's very first lecture on tea was delivered by W. Harding Smith (1848–1922), a painter and member of the council. His talk consisted of the history of tea in Japan and details of the practice, settings, and the arts and utensils used in the gatherings with an aid of lantern slides for showing photographic images and illustrations. The output of the *yatoi* members' personal experience, their accounts and recent publications on tea in Japan supported the understanding of teaware collection made in the 1870s by Franks and SKM.

As Franks owed to the account of Funk his understanding of whipped tea culture in the 1870s, Smith acknowledges the information from then chairman Anderson's personal experience of 'cha-no-yu'.⁹²⁶ Funk and Anderson both served for the Japanese government as *yatoi* (employees) and shared the common social position as important teachers for Japanese education in the early Meiji era, which explains why they were invited to tea gatherings. In the rapidly changing Japanese society of the 1870s, the two *yatoi* witnessed how Japanese tea was observed and experienced. Anderson expressed his fear that 'Cha-no-yu had had its day' because the fast-paced lifestyle prevailing in Japan, as that of Europe, only allows for 'a few

⁹²⁶ W. Harding Smith, 'The Cha-No-Yu, or Tea Ceremony', *Transactions and Proceedings of Japan Society, London* 5 (1902), 70.

enthusiasts (who) could spare the hours which the ceremonies demanded'.⁹²⁷ This is a similar reaction to that in Funk's article of 1873.

Other members' publications—Edward S. Morse's *Japanese Homes* (1889) and Josiah Condor's account on Japanese flower arrangement also contributed to shaping Smith's knowledge.⁹²⁸ Besides, Smith's reference to Japanese guidebooks for amateur tea practitioners in the 1880s shows its revival a decade later. He cites illustrations from Kanō Sōboku IV 狩野宗朴's *Chadō haya manabi* 茶道早学 and *Matcha hitori geiko Chanoyu gaisoku* 抹茶独稽古 茶の湯概則.⁹²⁹ These books explain the history of whipped tea, different types of utensils as well as the setting, which corresponds to how Smith structured his lecture. The acquisition of information was much easier for the speaker than decades ago through the direct knowledge of the returned Japanologist and increased publication about the culture of Japan both in Japanese and English.

Smith concludes his talk with the impact of chanoyu on Japanese ceramics, which shows the close link of the appreciation of the context to that of objects.⁹³⁰ Holme's article in 1892 could have been a reference for Smith to learn about Japanese ceramics. In fact, Smith acknowledged Holme for showing his collection.⁹³¹ The objects collected by Franks and SKM in the 1870s were the points to which the audience of the lecture could turn their eyes with the knowledge of settings and use. Smith claims that the audiences with interests in tea

⁹²⁷ Smith, 'The Cha-No-Yu, or Tea Ceremony', 71.

⁹²⁸ Smith, 59, 63.

⁹²⁹ Smith, 53, 55. Kanō Sōboku 狩野宗朴, *Chadō hayamanabi* 茶道早学, 10 vols (Osaka: Shikada Seishichi 鹿田静七, 1884). Kanō Sōboku 狩野宗朴, *Matcha hitori geiko Chanoyu gaisoku* 抹茶独稽古 茶の湯概則 (Osaka: Shikada Seishichi 鹿田静七, 1884).

⁹³⁰ Smith, 69.

⁹³¹ Smith, 70.

jars ‘cannot do better than visit the British Museum; where in the Franks’ bequest they will see probably the finest collection of these little Cha-ire in England.’⁹³² For tea bowls, Smith recommends the SKM collection.⁹³³ While Franks’s catalogue of his East Asian ceramic collection was the starting point to give contexts to the objects, Smith’s study of tea culture comes back to ceramics at the end. The circulating relationship between the two leads to Holme’s lecture in 1908.

On 11 November 1908, Holme lectured on ‘The Pottery of Chanoyu’, which was also published in *the Studio* in 1909. He also explained his collection of whipped tea utensils on view at the venue. The audience’s reaction recorded in the proceedings of the society reveals how Japanese ceramics for tea were appreciated as vessels for carrying Japanese philosophy not just a context for their use. Smith commended Holme for discussing the ‘spirit’ of teaware.⁹³⁴ Joly, probably Henri L. Joly, a French collector, praised it for Holme’s deciphering of the hidden meaning of tea ceramics by connecting them to Zen Buddhism.⁹³⁵ Ironically, Count Mutsu Hirokichi 陸奥廣吉 (1869–1942), the Japanese *chargé d'affaires* in Britain, who chaired Holme’s lecture, admitted his ignorance about both chanoyu and its ceramics.⁹³⁶ The representative of new Japan, Mutsu’s distance from tea culture is contrasted with how tea was performed in diplomatic scenes like Prince Connaught’s visit to the old capital. The situation was different in Paris. One of the attendees of Holme’s lecture, Émile Deshayes, Adjunct Curator for the Guimet Museum, experienced the revival of chanoyu by participating in a gathering held at the Japanese Legation in Paris in 1889 along with George

⁹³² Smith, ‘The Cha-No-Yu, or Tea Ceremony’, 64.

⁹³³ Smith, 64.

⁹³⁴ Holme, ‘The Pottery of the Cha-No-Yu’, 185.

⁹³⁵ Holme, 83.

⁹³⁶ Holme, 181.

Clemenceau and Guimet as one of seven guests.⁹³⁷ His preface in *La Céramique Japonaise* (1895), which developed from private notes on Japanese ceramics for Clemenceau by Ueda Tokunosuke 上田得之助, who served at the French legation in Yokohama, was widely read in France and it was one of the references for Smith's lecture in 1898.⁹³⁸

The French scholar praised Holme for the study of philosophy and thoughts that directed the creation of ceramic works.⁹³⁹ However, he questioned Holme's narrative that tea taste directed the simple aesthetics of Japanese art. Citing Takashima Suteta's article 'The Cha-no-yu Ceremony' in *Far East*, he points out that there was a desire to 'show off' quaint expensive pieces among chajin.⁹⁴⁰ The criticism of the extravagance of famous teawares, which Marsham also witnessed, can be seen in Brinkley's argument in *Japan and China*, referring to an auction held in Tokyo in 1899.⁹⁴¹ Deshayes also asked to what extent early teaching of tea had an impact on Japanese society and aesthetics.

Has that influence really been operative in modelling the masses, or were these masses merely adapting themselves to surrounding conditions, is a debatable matter which must be approached only with an unbiassed and critical mind.⁹⁴²

Yet, Holme's lecture is still noteworthy for having directed the discourse of tea ceramics to its philosophy. Although Mutsu was a stranger to the culture as an individual, the practice was symbolic for his Empire.

Like other customs of the past generations, this particular branch of artistic usage is gradually losing its hold in Japan, though it is as yet far from being entirely neglected;

⁹³⁷ Deshayes, *La céramique japonaise*, xiii–xiv.

⁹³⁸ Jan Hokenson, *Japan, France, and East-West Aesthetics: French Literature, 1867–2000* (Madison, N.J: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2004), 475. Smith, 'The Cha-No-Yu, or Tea Ceremony', 47.

⁹³⁹ Holme, 'The Pottery of the Cha-No-Yu', 184–5.

⁹⁴⁰ Holme, 'The Pottery of the Cha-No-Yu', 183.

⁹⁴¹ Brinkley, *Japan, Its History, Arts, and Literature*, Library ed., vol. 2, 271–2.

⁹⁴² Holme, 'The Pottery of the Cha-No-Yu', 184.

but I feel convinced that the spirit and thoughts therein embodied will ever remain with us as long as our Island Empire exists.⁹⁴³

The society operated not only for international audiences to discuss and obtain new knowledge about Japan but also for the Japanese to learn how to promote their own culture. Mutsu will play a key role in organising the Japan-British Exhibition held in 1910.⁹⁴⁴

7.3 Japanese Ceramics and the Changing Locus for Art in the 1890s–1910s

Japanese Ceramics in the Rise of Chinese Ceramics

Before the establishment of the Japan Society, BFAC had been a venue for exhibiting Japanese works including ceramics (chapter two). The members of BFAC exhibited their Japanese tea bowls and teapots in the 1878 exhibition of *Japanese and Chinese works of Art*.⁹⁴⁵ Corresponding to the increased significance of the Japan Society in discussing and exhibiting Japanese works, overall interest in Japanese art at BFAC was declining from the late 1890s.

In 1895, in the rising interest in Chinese blue and white porcelain, the BFAC organised *Blue and White Oriental Porcelain*. The craze for Chinese porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue decoration prevailed from the mid to late nineteenth century among ceramic collectors as well as in literary and artistic circles. This fashion occurred simultaneously with *Japonisme* in the Aesthetic movement. Artists depicted Chinese porcelain with Japanese motifs like

⁹⁴³ Holme, 'The Pottery of the Cha-No-Yu', 181.

⁹⁴⁴ Ayako Hotta-Lister and Ian Nish, 'Closing Reflections', in *Commerce and Culture at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition: Centenary Perspectives*, ed. Ayako Hotta-Lister and Ian Nish (Leiden: BRILL, 2012), 207.

⁹⁴⁵ BFAC, *Exhibition of Japanese and Chinese Works of Art*.

screens, fans, or kimono (Fig. 136). When Holme presided at the *Sette* in 1890–1, members discussed and examined Chinese ceramics at two gatherings.⁹⁴⁶



Fig. 136 James McNeill Whistler, ‘The Princess from the Land of Porcelain’, 1863–1865, Freer Gallery of Art.

The BFAC exhibition displayed not only Chinese porcelain, but also Japanese Arita, Hirado and Kyoto porcelain as comparisons.⁹⁴⁷ In this category, R. Phéne Spiers lent his Hirado and Kyoto teapots.⁹⁴⁸ Although whipped tea utensils had been discussed in a Japanese cultural context, steeped tea utensils remained in the framework of comparative material with Chinese ceramics. Kiyomizu porcelain was introduced as ‘not known in England till lately’.⁹⁴⁹ However, after this exhibition, Japanese ceramics became a subordinated subject in mainstream East Asian ceramics exhibitions, which focused on Chinese ceramics.

⁹⁴⁶ Sette of Odd Volumes, *The Year-Boke of the Odd Volumes: Thirteenth Year 1890–91*, 21, 49. Alexander T. Hollingsworth, *Blue and White China* (London: Chiswick Press, 1891).

⁹⁴⁷ BFAC, *Catalogue of Blue & White Oriental Porcelain Exhibited in 1895*, 48.

⁹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 49–52.

⁹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 48.

In 1896, the BFAC organised the exhibition of *Coloured Chinese Porcelain* with some Chinese stoneware. The committee excluded Japanese ceramics because ‘the ceramic wares of Japan are too various and important to be adequately represented in the present Collection.’⁹⁵⁰ At this time, they hoped to hold an exhibition of Japanese pottery and porcelain in the future, which never came to pass. This implies a lack of experts who were able to classify Japanese stoneware and porcelain in the British collecting community until the second half of the twentieth century when Soame Jenyns (1904–1976), the curator of the British Museum, devoted his studies to Japanese ceramics.⁹⁵¹ Franks died in 1897 and there had been no significant display of East Asian ceramics by the BFAC until the 1910 exhibition of *Early Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*, which featured once ‘isolated specimens’ but were becoming known through an influx of objects mainly due to railway constructions in China which led to archaeological excavations.⁹⁵²

While the presence of Japanese ceramics in East Asian ceramic studies in Britain gradually diminished, they were appreciated along with Chinese and Korean ceramics in the U.S. during the 1910s. In 1914, the Japan Society of New York gathered American collections of East Asian ceramics altogether in conjunction with the Asiatic Institute.⁹⁵³ R. L. Hobson, the committee member of the BFAC exhibition in 1910 and the curator of the British Museum authenticated the exhibits of Chinese and Korean ceramics. Edward S. Morse, Keeper of Japanese Pottery at the Museum of Fine Arts Boston was in charge of Japanese ceramics. In

⁹⁵⁰ BFAC, *Catalogue of Coloured Chinese Porcelain Exhibited in 1896* (London: Printed for the BFAC, 1896), v.

⁹⁵¹ Soame Jenyns, *Japanese Porcelain*, Faber Monographs on Pottery and Porcelain (London: Faber and Faber, 1965). Soame Jenyns, *Japanese Pottery* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971).

⁹⁵² C. H. Read, ‘Preface’, in *Exhibition of Early Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*, by BFAC (London: Printed for the BFAC, 1910), ix.

⁹⁵³ Japan Society (New York), *Chinese, Korean and Japanese Potteries: Descriptive Catalogue of Loan Exhibition of Selected Examples* (New York: Japan Society, 1914).

the preface of the Japanese section, Morse clarified that the society's intention was 'to bring together the glazed rather than the decorated pieces'.⁹⁵⁴ The Japanese exhibits were mostly composed of teaware, which started with 20 tea jars and 22 tea bowls followed by other types of ware. A viewer saw 'colours of the refined autumn leaf' in the glaze, whereas another observed 'personality' in the colour and shape of objects.⁹⁵⁵ Focussing on ceramics mainly decorated with glazes, the exhibition demonstrated the abstract expression derived from the technique as a common aesthetic among East Asian ceramics.

Led by the community of Japanophiles, the exhibition demonstrated the leading role of Japanese ceramics in changing American aesthetics in ceramics and nourishing the range and depth of East Asian ceramic collections. Morse favourably commented on the aesthetic shift among American collectors from the decorative to 'glazed' ware or ceramics in tea taste:

our collectors are now appreciating those kinds of pottery that the Japanese most admire. I may add that many years ago, when I had the pleasure of accompanying my artist friends, Vedder, La Farge, Samuel Colman, Abby, and others, through the Museum collection, they immediately recognised and admired those pieces that the Japanese *chajin* most adore.⁹⁵⁶

As Morse points out, painters had important roles in popularising the aesthetics of tea taste. Among 100 entries for Japanese ceramics, Howard Mansfield (1849–1938), a collector of James Whistler's etchings loaned 29 works, followed by 20 works from the Charles Lang Freer collection. Freer is known to have encountered Whistler's work through Mansfield's collection.⁹⁵⁷

⁹⁵⁴ Edward S. Morse, 'Prefatory Note: Japanese Potteries', in *Chinese, Corean and Japanese Potteries: Descriptive Catalogue of Loan Exhibition of Selected Examples*, by Japan Society, (New York: Japan Society, 1914), 113.

⁹⁵⁵ Morse, 113.

⁹⁵⁶ Morse, 114.

⁹⁵⁷ F. MacDonald et al., 'Howard Mansfield, 1849–1938', James McNeill Whistler: The Etchings, a catalogue raisonné, 2012, <https://etchings.arts.gla.ac.uk/catalogue/biog/?nid=MansH>.

The appreciation of the beauty of glaze seen in Japanese teaware was connected to that of Chinese and Korean works. Samuel T. Peters, a coal dealer well known for his Chinese ceramics and jade collection, exhibited his 20 Japanese ceramics. This exhibition, however, later made Peters's reputation as a collector of Chinese Song and Yuan ceramics.⁹⁵⁸ This is also applicable to Freer's collection. The dominance of Chinese ceramics with more than half of the entire exhibits also clearly shows that new interest in this field surpassed Japanese forerunners. The legacy of Japanese ceramics remained in its aesthetics rather than in objects.

Japan-British Exhibition, 1910: Tourism and Art History

Three years after the Garter Mission to Japan, Prince Arthur of Connaught presided over the Japan-British exhibition. In the speech for the opening of the exhibition, the Prince was pleased that the exhibition made Japanese art accessible to the public beyond the 'travellers's tale'.⁹⁵⁹ Backed by the Japanese government, the exhibition showed masterpieces of Japanese art, many of them now regarded as National Treasures and Important Cultural Properties. For the 'fortunate' traveller who had been to Japan in 1906, the exhibition revived his memories 'not in the gardens of Kyoto, but in the White City'.⁹⁶⁰ The 1910 exhibition reproduced historical and commercial Kyoto as Kyoto-Kan (Kyoto Hall). They built replicas of Momoyama architecture, Nishi-Honganji temple's Chrysanthemum Chamber (Fig. 137) and the Chokushimon Gate, which is now in the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.⁹⁶¹

⁹⁵⁸ Parke-Bernet Galleries, ed., *Chinese Porcelains & Pottery: Chinese & Japanese Paintings & Bronzes, Japanese Screens and Lacquer, Persian and Mesopotamias Pottery: Property of the Estate of Mrs. Samuel T. Peters: Part 1.* (New York: Parke-Bernet Galleries, 1943), Foreword.

⁹⁵⁹ *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910: At the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London.* (London: Unwin Brothers, 1911), 517.

⁹⁶⁰ *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910*, 517.

⁹⁶¹ Leaflet entitled *Kyoto*, 1910, V&A Archives, reproduced in Noguchi Yūko, '1910 nen



Fig. 137 The ‘Stork’ Chamber of KYOTO-KAN, Japan-British Exhibition, 1910.

Important Kyoto dealers and retailers had their own shops in the hall. Even Yamanaka, which already had a branch in London, had their own space along with Kyoto merchants such as Takashimaya and Kawashimaya for selling their articles (Fig. 138). Visiting temples, appreciating artworks, shopping in the city—this set of tourist activities in Kyoto, which facilitated Marsham’s collecting had been exported to the exhibition abroad. Tea was also a part of the tourist experience. In this exhibition, tea was represented both old and new Japanese culture. *Iki-ningyō*, lifelike manequins demonstrated tea ceremony of the sixteenth century in a series of diorama of Japanese civilization.⁹⁶² Mitsui Trading Company used a replica of the *Kūchūan*, a tea-hut built for the Prince’s visit to Kyoto as a reception room.⁹⁶³

kaisai no Nichi Ei hakurankai ni okeru Kyoto no kan’yo ni tsuite no kōsatsu’, *Kyoto furitsu daigaku gakujutsu hōkoku Jinbun* 70 (2018), 49.

⁹⁶² Japan-British Exhibition, Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910: At the Great White City, Shepherd’s Bush, London (London: Unwin Brothers, 1911), 201–3.

⁹⁶³ Oshikiri, *Gathering for Tea in Modern Japan*, 71.

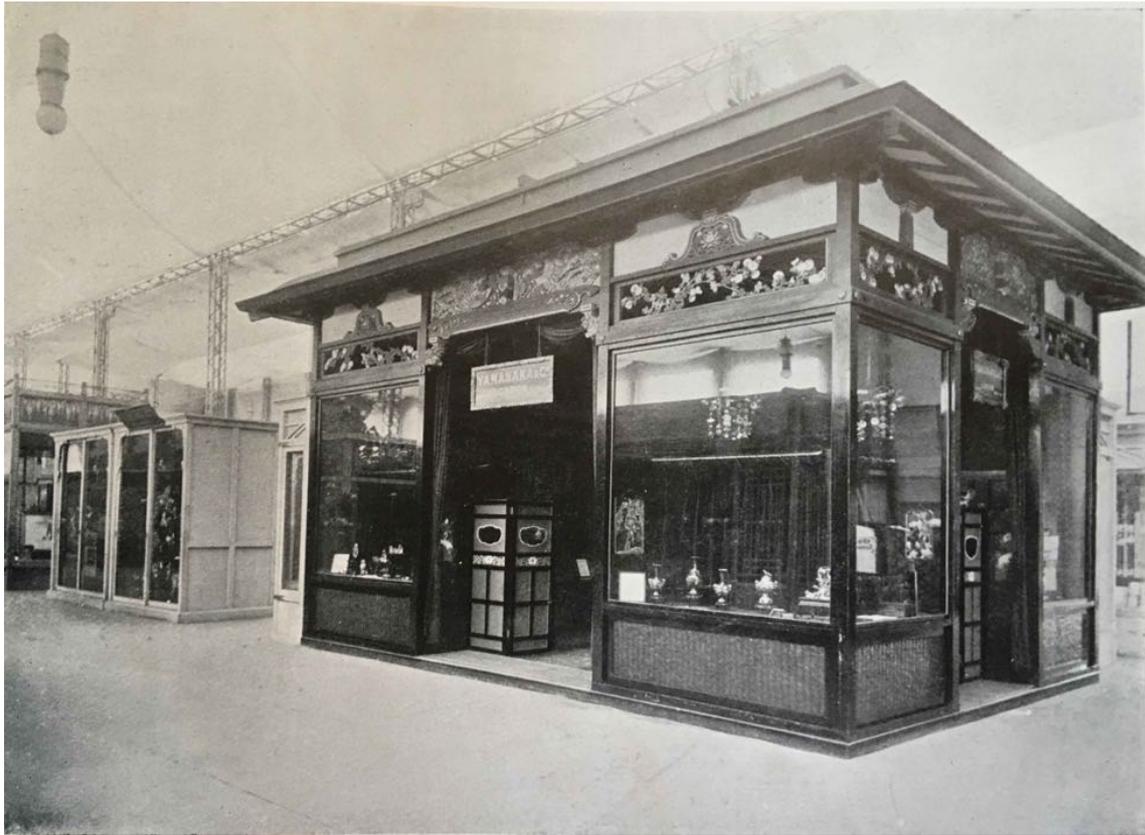


Fig. 138 Yamanaka Company's Stall, Japan-British Exhibition, 1910.

This exhibition was not the first imagined Japan which the Prince enjoyed in England. In 1886, the Duke of Connaught (1850–1942) and the Prince were among the British Royals who visited the Japanese Village, London.⁹⁶⁴ In 1890, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught (1860–1917) travelled to Japan as a part of their world tour and she enjoyed shopping for Japanese ‘curios and embroideries’.⁹⁶⁵ Their family photograph in 1891 suggests that her souvenirs reconstructed an imagined Japan through their annual custom of playing the *tableau vivant*, or living pictures at Osborn House, on the Isle of Wight (Fig. 139).⁹⁶⁶ The

⁹⁶⁴ Koyama Noboru 小山騰, *Rondon Nihonjin-mura wo tsukutta otoko: nazo no Kōgyōshi Tanakā Buhikurosan, 1839–94* ロンドン日本人村を作った男: 謎の興行師タナカーブヒクロサン1839–94 (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten 藤原書店, 2015), 274.

⁹⁶⁵ Douglas Brooke Wheelton Sladen, *The Japs at Home* (London: Ward, Lock & Bowden, 1895), 190. Koyama Noboru 小山騰, *Nihon no irezumi to Eikoku ōshitsu: Meiji-ki kara dai ichiji sekai taisen made* 日本の刺青と英国王室: 明治期から第一次世界大戦まで (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten 藤原書店, 2010), 203.

⁹⁶⁶ Koyama, *Nihon no irezumi to Eikoku ōshitsu*, 203. For *tableau vivant*, see Rosemary

crucial difference between satellite Japans before and after the Japan-British exhibition was the sense of authenticity instead of illusionistic exoticism as the accuracy of reproduction by the Kyoto government indicates.⁹⁶⁷



Fig. 139 The Duke and Duchess of Connaught with their children in Japanese costume, 1891, Royal Collection Trust.

The Japan-British exhibition is recognised to have demonstrated for a British audience ‘authentic’ art history with Japanese collections which had never been shown overseas.⁹⁶⁸

The Japanese Fine Art Exhibition held there reshaped the understanding of Japanese art in Britain, bringing the largest number and quality of Japanese arts in international exhibition

Barrow, ‘Toga Plays and Tableaux Vivants: Theatre and Painting on London’s Late-Victorian and Edwardian Popular Stage’, *Theatre Journal* 62, no. 2 (2010): 209–226.

⁹⁶⁷ Mutsu Hirokichi, ‘The Japan-British Exhibition, 1910’, *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 58, no. 2983 (1910), 237.

⁹⁶⁸ Michiko Hayashi, ‘Japanese Fine Art in the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition’, in *Commerce and Culture at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition: Centenary Perspectives*, ed. Ayako Hotta-Lister and Ian Nish (Leiden: BRILL, 2012), 161.

history until then.⁹⁶⁹ Tōzan, Marsham's friend, was one of the 13 artists who displayed ceramic works in the Modern Fine Art section.⁹⁷⁰ However, *the Fine Art exhibition* at the Japan-British Exhibition eliminated ceramics from its Old Fine Art section which showed a total of 1,138 old works including 33 national treasures.⁹⁷¹

For the history of ceramics, the message of the exhibition is controversial. The status of ceramics can be contrasted with the Paris exhibition in 1900, for which *Histoire de l'art du Japon* (History of Art of Japan) was published by Hayashi Tadamasu, the famous Japanese art dealer in Paris.⁹⁷² The book was based on individual and regional histories of potters and kilns, but it located them in history by connecting to the social conditions and taste.⁹⁷³ The absence of ceramics from the category of Old Fine Arts in 1910 may reflect its distance from the new Japanese academy system of Bunten (Ministry of Education Fine Arts Exhibition) established in 1907, which excluded arts except for paintings and sculptures until 1927. At the same time, it also indicates that the canons of Japanese ceramics had not yet been established art historically while paintings, sculptures, metal works, and lacquerware were

⁹⁶⁹ Hayashi, 'Japanese Fine Art in the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition', 160–1.

⁹⁷⁰ The Office of the Imperial Japanese Government Commission to the Japan-British Exhibition, *An Illustrated Catalogue of Japanese Modern Fine Arts Displayed at the Japan-British Exhibition, London 1910* (Tokyo, The Shimbi Shoin, 1910), 5, fig. 138.

⁹⁷¹ The Office of the Imperial Japanese Government Commission to the Japan-British Exhibition, *An Illustrated Catalogue of Japanese Old Fine Arts Displayed at the Japan-British Exhibition, London, 1910* (Tokyo: Shinbi Shoin, 1910).

⁹⁷² Commission impériale du Japon à l'Exposition universelle de Paris, 1900, *Histoire de l'art du Japon* (Paris: Maurice de Brunoff, 1900).

⁹⁷³ There were literature covering the history of ceramics in Japan before this. As discussed in chapter 3, Ninagawa's *Kanko zusesu* was written from an antiquarian position, which had a great impact on Western collectors. In 1878, Kurokawa Mayori published *Kōgei shiryō*, covering the chronological and genealogical history of Japanese industries according to regions. Yokoi Tokifuyu, an economic historian wrote *Kōgei kagami* (1894), biographies of important craftsmen including potters. See Kurokawa Mayori 黒川真頼, *Zōtei kōgei shiryō* 増訂工芸志料, Tōyō bunko 東洋文庫 (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1974). Yokoi Tokifuyu 横井時冬, *Kōgei kagami* 工芸鏡, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Rikugōkan 六合館書店, 1894).

already included. This ambiguous position of ceramics in Japanese art history can be seen in *the Red Cross Exhibition* in 1915 below.

Red Cross Exhibition 1915: Questioning Japanese Art

Members of the Japan Society created *the Red Cross Exhibition* in 1915 as organiser and exhibitors. The exhibition showed 2,415 pieces from nearly seventy English private collections of Japanese art to fund the British Red Cross at the London branch of Yamanaka & Co.⁹⁷⁴ Earthenware and stoneware predominated with over 60 works among 72 entries for ceramics. This directly reflects the fact that Holme was the most important lender for ceramics. He loaned 33 objects, mostly whipped tea utensils from Satsuma and Kyoto.⁹⁷⁵ Interestingly, ex-James L. Bowes collection pieces made up over 1/3 of his exhibits. The preference for decorative teaware contrasts with the Japan Society, New York's exhibition in the previous year where 'glazed' ware was a key theme. The position of Japanese ceramics at the exhibition shows the gap between the new national art history presented in the Japan-British exhibition and British collections of Japanese objects.

Henri L. Joly (1876–1920), a French collector of Japanese art and member of the society and Tomita Kumasaku 富田熊作 (1872–1953), the manager of Yamanaka prepared accompanying catalogues. In 1916, they published an additional illustrated catalogue of the exhibition with reproduced images.⁹⁷⁶ According to the preface, the exhibition had a mission to revive the public attraction to Japanese art, which had been 'deliberately pushed behind'

⁹⁷⁴ Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Japanese Works of Art and Handicraft from English Collections, Held from October 14th to November 13th (London: Yamanaka & Co., 1915), 3, table of contents.

⁹⁷⁵ Ibid, 209–213.

⁹⁷⁶ Henri L. Joly and Tomita Kumasaku, *Japanese Art & Handicraft* (London: Yamanaka & Co., 1916).

the craze for Chinese and Near Eastern art.⁹⁷⁷ This feeling of rivalry with Chinese art among the organisers differs from the American exhibition of Japanese ceramics along with Chinese and Korean counterparts in 1914. This difference was not just a reflection of taste but also the problem of how to present Japanese works in the context of art history.

Joly and Tomita problematised antiquarian or archaeological interest in East Asian objects among British collectors. They criticised the ‘self-hypnotism’ in this preference which ‘exaggerated the precedence of age over beauty and how art collecting has become a branch of archaeology under another name.’⁹⁷⁸ They also discerned this impact among Japanese art collectors who admire ‘old, ugly, or shapeless’ works, which only interest archaeologists.⁹⁷⁹ The organisers highly rated English collections of prints, inro, lacquerware, netsuke, and sword furniture, but they did not even mention ceramics. The exclusion of ceramics from the discussion of art is coincident with the absence of ceramics in the Old Fine Art section at the Japan-British exhibition.

In the *Book of Tea*, Okakura criticises the nineteenth-century approach of classificatory observation of arts developed with evolutionary theory as ‘the habit of losing sight of the individual in the species’.⁹⁸⁰ He also blames museums for ‘the sacrifice of the aesthetic to the so-called scientific method of exhibition’.⁹⁸¹ When Japanese ceramics for tea came into British collections, they were positioned in the ‘scientific’ framework as a branch of comparative ceramic industry, archaeology or ethnography. Although this was the way in

⁹⁷⁷ Joly and Tomita, *Japanese Art & Handicraft*, i.

⁹⁷⁸ Joly and Tomita, ii.

⁹⁷⁹ Joly and Tomita, iii.

⁹⁸⁰ Okakura, *Book of Tea*, 117.

⁹⁸¹ Okakura, 117.

which the Japanese promoted their own heritage either as history or commercial goods, the twentieth-century Japanese narrative rejected the system developed from antiquarianism.

Brinkley's criticism of tea taste in *Japan and China* (1902) would also explain another aspect of the difficulty of placing ceramics with other arts. He classifies tea taste in two ways: 'orthodox' and 'rusty things'.⁹⁸² The former taste for Chinese things developed in Ashikaga Yoshimasa's time is respected for having set 'an artistic standard of the highest excellence' while the latter is accused of the neglect of perfection.⁹⁸³ He draws a clear line between fine arts and works appreciated by the 'esoteric' values of *chajin*:

Blisters resulting from excessive heat in the potter's kiln become marks of special manufacture; solutions of continuity in the glaze of a porcelain vessel are prized evidences of a certain era; deformity of shape is a natural caprice; absence of every outwardly attractive quality typifies unpretentious utility, and accidents of decoration suggest freedom from artificial regularity.⁹⁸⁴

Brinkley calls these objects 'homely failures' and the appreciation of them prevented 'the progress of the fine arts'.⁹⁸⁵ He acknowledges *sencha* as a counter to the *wabi* aesthetics, but he also sees the limitation of *sencha* for it was confined to the classic taste established for Song and Ming works and did not extend to the appreciation of Qing porcelain such as various monochrome glazes and overglaze polychrome wares which fascinated European and American collectors in the early twentieth century.⁹⁸⁶

Although tea gatherings fostered the appreciation of Japanese art, tea taste surfaced as an issue to overcome among Japanese ceramic collectors and scholars in the 1910s. Saikokai, a hobbyist group for ceramics in Tokyo popularised the appreciation of Japanese and East

⁹⁸² Brinkley, *Japan, Its History, Arts, and Literature*, Library ed., vol. 2, 268.

⁹⁸³ Brinkley, 268.

⁹⁸⁴ Brinkley, 269.

⁹⁸⁵ Brinkley, 269–270.

⁹⁸⁶ Brinkley, 273.

Asian ceramics which had no place in tea contexts, such as Kakiemon and Nabeshima porcelain, through lectures, exhibitions, and publication.⁹⁸⁷ Their objective of appreciating and discussing ceramics through universal criteria not restrained by tea taste was inherited by a more academic research group, Tōyō Tōji Kenkyūjo (Oriental Ceramics Institute), founded in 1924.⁹⁸⁸ On the other hand, Kōtōkai好陶会, a research group for ceramics in Kyoto founded in 1917, gathered for tea and discussing ceramics.⁹⁸⁹ Their discussions strengthened the direction for ceramic history based on works by and the biography of master potters.⁹⁹⁰ Departing from the cultural and industrial history of objects, the history of ceramics as art was being formed.

Franks's and Marsham's collections connected to the larger system of collecting in Britain of the 1860s–1910s shaped by collectors, museums, learned societies, public exhibitions, British industry, private experience of the objects, Japanese promotion of their products, regions, and the nation, and the transition from antiquarianism to modern disciplines. Ceramics for tea gatherings acted in the system as ceramic material, specimens of a local industry, representations of customs and culture, or personal and collective memories and heritage. Building on collections in Britain, members of the Japan Society in the 1890s–1910s highlighted the cultural side of ceramics connecting the articulation of a material and its use. While the emphasis on the culture enriched the understanding of the objects and their aesthetics, there was a danger of subordinating objects under its philosophy. In the rise of national art history and the interest in Chinese ceramics in the 1910s, the Western framework of archaeology and ethnography which supported the collecting and appreciation of Japanese

⁹⁸⁷ Kida, 'Ōkōchi Masatoshi to Okuda Seiichi', 24–6.

⁹⁸⁸ Kida, 29.

⁹⁸⁹ Oka, Kinsei Kyōyaki no kenkyū, 17.

⁹⁹⁰ Oka, 17.

ceramics in Britain was being questioned. Japanese scholars began to shape Japanese ceramic history and searched for canons.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored how Japanese ceramics for tea gatherings created and acquired values in the 1870s to 1910s by examining two representational collections of Japanese domestic ceramics formed by Augustus W. Franks at the British Museum, London and Henry Marsham at the Maidstone Museum, Kent. Applying Actor-Network Theory as an interpretative framework, this research demonstrated that the process of creating values for specific types of objects was a result of interactions in the networks of people, objects, and places. More specifically, the study traced the interactive communication which generated multiple values for ceramics for tea gatherings from Meiji Japan among collectors, dealers, mediators, artists, tea ceramics from Japan, contemporary material and visual cultures and research in Britain, Japan, and abroad, the spaces experienced by the objects and agents of collecting. The human and non-human agents were observed to be collaborative generators of meanings in collecting networks. The value making process operated beyond the boundaries between the institutional, private, public, national, local, diplomatic, economic, social, aesthetic, and material.

These observations were made through an empirical study of the collections and archives in multiple languages at the British Museum, Maidstone Museum and other institutions in Britain, Japan, and France as well as contemporary publications including local newspapers published in Kyoto. The exploration of collecting with a focus on human and non-human agents revealed unwritten histories and unseen values for objects. Ceramics for tea created and acquired values by moving around in the webs of institutional and private collecting, British and international scientific communities, and through Japanese promotion of ceramics

as industry, antiquities, and art for foreign markets. Tea utensils obtained identities in their travelling from Meiji Japan to Britain.

Key Factors of Networks in Shaping Values of Japanese Ceramics

This research identified four key factors in networks which shaped the values of Japanese ceramics for tea gatherings from Meiji Japan that were collected in Britain: the materiality of tea ceramics, the landscape of disciplines and market, the places of collecting and personal experience. These factors were interconnected and interrelated to each other, producing values as an effect.

Materiality

This study developed the analysis of the materiality of objects by looking at the multiple facets of ceramics in relation to frameworks surrounding them beyond collectors' personal tastes or preferences. The Japanese ceramics themselves are complex networks. The material of each ceramic work, which differs from one to the other in terms of the clay, form, glaze, design, maker, and kiln, records both history and the aesthetics of production and context of use. The products as representatives of a specific materiality, came into British collections as a universal material for comparison when ceramics received serious attention as an industry with a history as well as a high potential in terms of technical, aesthetic and economic development. The materiality of ceramics that derived from the context for use was shown to function as a window into a distant community from which the objects were created and thus used as evidence in antiquarian studies as well as ethnography and archaeology as modern disciplines. Therefore, Japanese ceramics for tea gatherings became culturally conditioned materials when this practice was recognised by the collectors of ceramics. The two

dimensions of the ceramics inspired Franks and Marsham to form their collections to illustrate the history and aesthetics demonstrated by the objects.

Landscape of Disciplines

Franks's collection demonstrates that the values assigned to objects were created in the dynamics of negotiating emerging disciplines and their root field, antiquarianism, in different physical and intellectual spaces from museums to learned societies within and outside of Britain. In the developmental stage of disciplines in which Japanese ceramic study was included, objects played the roles of archiving the history of production and culture in the absence of available written texts. Franks's participation in international conferences, exhibitions and the readership of international journals in the 1870s show that international competition and communication about Japanese objects and associated information stimulated his collecting. His indirect participation in behind-the-scenes competition over Ninagawa Noritane's collection of Japanese ceramics also indicates the significance of objects in formulating new knowledge. Franks had been identified as the key person for connecting the public and private, institutions, societies, and the market. However, the discussion of this connectivity in other studies was Euro-centric with a main focus on British and European artefacts and decorative arts. This research positioned his Japanese ceramic collection in his multifaceted infrastructure of collecting, the development of disciplines and the market of the time, which made Japanese ceramics active participants in the overall development of his interwoven private and public collections.

In contrast to Franks's professionalized activities, Marsham's collecting aligns with the stories of museum development in Britain but from an amateur space outside the museum. This lesser-known private collector had taken the initiative of establishing and interpreting

his collection. In the field of Japanese ceramic history, it was noted that Edward Morse had gained an incomparable position for his encyclopaedic collection of Japanese ceramics, and the catalogue of it, in a way that influenced other collectors in both knowledge and aesthetics of the early twentieth century. Marsham was one of the readers of Morse's collection catalogue, which shaped his understanding of Japanese ceramics. However, Marsham corrected information in Morse's publication by communicating with local potters in Kyoto and learned about the value system for Japanese ceramics probably through Kyoto dealers. Marsham's collecting showed that there were constant revision and generation of new knowledge and taste through the interaction of private collectors and Japanese makers and dealers in the Meiji era which took place outside the professional communities of museums.

Place

Besides national museums in London, intellectual spaces from learned societies to international conferences where Franks was involved were shown to function as places for discussing and displaying objects. These places themselves were networks, but together they shaped his networked concepts of material culture where Japanese objects were positioned. Beyond Britain, Franks's collecting of Japanese ceramics was interrelated to German and French practices of collecting, presenting, and analysing objects and culture. Gustav Klemm's idea of the museum of cultural history in the early nineteenth century has echoes in Franks's practice of enriching encyclopaedic collections of the distant past and distant cultures. The German scholar Funk's article on chanoyu in 1874 provided him with an invaluable source of information about whipped tea. The first International Congress of Orientalists in 1873 in Paris, in which Franks participated, discussed Japan and displayed Japanese objects including ceramics in the accompanying exhibition of Parisian collections.

Franks himself then was a network that connected the international intellectual communities of material culture.

On the other hand, the examination of Marsham's collecting practices revealed how the geography of late Meiji Kyoto functioned as a micro-network in producing his collection, knowledge and memory. Marsham's travelling and stay in the region connected him to the arts, nature, and people of the region. Furthermore, the two dimensions of Higashiyama, the local and the international, and the old and the new, facilitated Marsham's collecting in the form of tourism where shopping/selling, viewing/showing, experiencing/promoting arts, cultures, and history were essential mutual interests between visitors and locals. The place not only created the flow of objects and knowledge but also strengthened the variety of Kyoto ware and tea utensils in his collection. The East Kyoto region covers Awata and Kiyomizu, two important ceramic production districts. The region's picturesque sceneries feature a rich history of gathering culture which continues to the modern era. Modern tourism in Higashiyama played a significant part in festive diplomacy for welcoming guests, notably for the Anglo-Japanese alliance, to which Kyoto dealers and industrialists formally and informally contributed. The dealer-directed material culture for the VIPs echoes the representation of Kyoto in the international exhibitions and Japan-Britain exhibition of 1910.

The two collector case studies raised awareness about the significance of the places of collecting for the values of objects both on micro and macro levels. Although Franks's involvement in various organisations had been discussed elsewhere, this research reevaluated his cross-institutional network as the places for his collection. This enabled us to explore the connections that the objects made with other exhibits to see the values of them for viewers. In addition, his international presence in pan-European scholarly communities suggested that

the internationally developed framework of objects was likely to be applied to Japanese ceramics in his collection. While mainstream London and European organisations were the primary places for Franks's collection to acquire meaning, Marsham's collecting in Meiji Kyoto showed that the hegemonial region of his collecting had a strong power in shaping the values for his objects. While there had been research on travelling in the study of collecting, this research discussed the uniqueness of a particular traveller's destination, Higashiyama, which bridges the history of collecting and the study of urban development.

Personal Experience

As noted throughout the thesis, Japanese ceramics for tea gatherings are not only ceramics but also cultural goods. They were products from kilns and of cultures. Equally important as the material, the intended use also mattered for the understanding of the tea utensils. The process of making values for the objects paralleled the understanding of Japanese tea culture. The empirical observation of tea cultures experienced and advocated by the mediators of collecting discussed here revealed the diversity of Japanese tea cultures of Meiji Japan, both for whipped tea and steeped tea.

Indirect and direct experience of tea culture was linked to the acquisition and interpretation of teawares. While the level of experience and the understanding were different, the two British collections produced public knowledge attached to objects from personal experience and interpretation. Importantly, both Japanese and non-Japanese experienced diverse ways of tea and they had different understandings of tea cultures in the Meiji era. Foreign employees in Japan during the 1870s participated in whipped tea gatherings. Their personal experiences either published or communicated in person were shared in British communities in London and interpreted as a disappearing culture. On the contrary, in the 1900s, Marsham travelled to

late Meiji Kyoto where both whipped tea and steeped tea were actively practised by the locals.

This research brought in steeped tea gatherings and their utensils as the main subject of study in Japanese ceramics overseas, which has been understudied in scholarship written in English. Although most of the discussion about tea in the Meiji era in relation to collecting was about whipped tea, steeped tea was presented to guests including foreign travellers. The variation in experience and understanding of tea culture in the Meiji era identified in this research enriched the discussion of modern Japanese tea history.

Values of Tea Ceramics from Meiji Japan

The four network factors listed above jointly contributed to the creation of values for ceramics for tea gatherings in three areas: archives of history and memory, cultural diplomacy, and art and design reform.

Archives of History and Memory

Ceramics for tea gatherings in the two collections played the same role as records of the past. However, what they represent are different due to the collecting process and timing. For Franks, tea utensils firstly lived in the world of material comparative to Chinese, Korean, European, British, Persian ceramics in the framework of exhibiting, studying, classifying in British material culture of the nineteenth century which straddled both the private collecting and institutional collecting spheres. However, the transfer of indirect knowledge of objects and their contexts for use from Japan to Britain, via diplomats, dealers, publications, and Japanese students in Britain, and a Japanese antiquarian, ensured that the cultural side of tea utensils received increased attention. The evaluation of whipped tea as a dying culture located

them in the field of ethnography. Tea utensils in the ethnological collection of the British Museum further provided the context for the interpretation of ceramic utensils as the trace of culture to be preserved in the museum or by Britain. On the other hand, contemporary utensils for steeped tea were acquired as examples of the Japanese ceramic industry of the time, corresponding to the interest in industrial art from around the world in the British design industry and museums.

In contrast, Marsham associated both whipped tea and steeped tea ceramics with the cultured Japanese of the old school in his experience of travelling in Japan. These utensils in Marsham's collection illustrate the continuing tea cultures in Japan that the collector witnessed in the 1900s. Different from the recognition of Franks, when Marsham visited Kyoto, whipped tea culture was revived and steeped tea culture continued flourishing. Tea was presented to foreigners at welcoming events in Kyoto as well as in international exhibitions. Marsham's closest dealer Hayashi was involved with preparing and participating in tea gatherings and expanded the market for tea gatherings. The collector's friend and potter, Itō Tōzan, used tea utensils to try out alternative possibilities for exhibition pieces in a creative salon as well as in his own experiments. Marsham himself experienced tea in a private sphere during his stay in Japan. The variety of tea utensils in Marsham's collection carry personal and local memories of objects beyond historical or ethnographic records of the practice and production of the other culture.

Cultural Diplomacy

The formation and interpretation of both collections involved native Japanese agents. In the process of material and information exchange, Japanese ceramics worked as diplomatic tools. A tea bowl and a tea jar gifted from the antiquarian and government official Ninagawa to

Franks communicated the uniqueness and the history of Japanese ceramic production from the Japanese side. This was a part of his strategic gift-giving to important foreign visitors and museums. On the other hand, Marsham's collecting itself was conducted in Meiji Kyoto's tourist industry which was closely connected to diplomacy. Art dealers in Kyoto played diplomatic roles by displaying objects suitable for welcoming foreign guests from the U.S. and U.K. when Japan strengthened the bilateral relations with the two countries. The investigation of the collection's network carried out here connected the history of collecting, diplomacy, and politics through private local agents separate from the Japanese government's cultural diplomacy at international exhibitions. Marsham's nationality, class, and his connections resurfaced as elements of the components of the exclusive network that promoted Kyoto's arts, culture, and history for foreign visitors of a high social class.

Art and Design Reform

The display of Franks's Japanese ceramic collection at the Bethnal Green Museum indicates that the collection was viewed as inspiring and served to educate the public and makers along with other collections of ceramics from around the world. This aim was also true for Marsham's collection at the Maidstone Museum. While designers and manufacturers' direct reactions to the two collections are unclear, Japanese ceramics for tea gatherings gradually acquired utilitarian and moral value for the contemporary ceramic industry in the late nineteenth century.

Pottery or earthenware and stoneware had been dismissed as obsolete materials in the western ceramic industry. Although the Japanese ceramic industry was shifting to porcelain production in the nineteenth century, the production of stoneware still continued in Japan. The British industry, learned from Japanese pottery, a transformative method of ordinary

materials into elastic materials that could express artists' creativity in order to increase monetary and aesthetic value. Moreover, Charles Holme, an art critic and passionate follower of the Arts and Crafts movement, formulated object lessons from Japanese pottery for tea gatherings, synthesising its materiality and characterizing it as true to native use with the frame of John Ruskin's idea of 'Utility and Truth'. The particular type of objects which Franks explored in an ethnographic perspective moved into native art when increasing interest in nativeness was observed in the modern art movement. The nativeness of Japanese ceramics was also connected to their nationality. There was a search for independent national uniqueness of Japanese ceramics which can be found neither in Chinese nor Korean counterparts.

On the other hand, the sense of nativeness was sought locally in Kyoto. The objects from the previous era produced in the region inspired the creation of new objects and new technologies. While Tōzan was presented as a famed contemporary potter, learning from the past, he thrived in the production of traditional Awata stoneware, which had become scarce because of their fragility. Thus, collections of old ceramics by Kyoto potters laid the foundation for a new Japanese ceramic production after the era of export. Therefore, Marsham's collection intersects with the very beginning of revived taste from the Edo period by interacting with Kyoto potters and artists. These ceramics' values are temporal and personal. The findings presented here suggest the possibility of multiple interpretations of objects not only in scholarly research but also in museums where objects are exhibited to tell their individual stories to visitors.

Network Analysis for an Inclusive History of Collecting Material Culture

This thesis contributed to the development of an inclusive history of collecting material culture through the following approaches. By positively evaluating marginalised agents as a part of the network of collecting, the number of participants as contributors to value making processes can be expanded. Accordingly, the multiple perspectives of hidden agents can be brought into studies that tend to be observed through the activities of famous scholars, collectors, or dealers. The treatment of objects as networks and agents that move around and across the boundaries of the public and private, disciplines, and spaces encourages interdisciplinary and cross-cultural research in examining the role of objects. Tracing how objects move enables researchers to find and re-evaluate the connections between individuals, communities, organisations, and disciplines in unexpected ways, which may bring new insights as happened here. Analysing the components of and their association in networks can make researchers aware of unconscious hierarchies and centrality in narrating objects geographically and socially. The understanding of multiple and relative values assigned to objects will benefit by enriching the stories of objects for not only scholarly research but also the interpretation of objects in museums and beyond.

Research Materials That Brought New Connections

The empirical research for this thesis led to numerous unexpected benefits for the fields of material culture, the history of collecting, the historiography of Japanese ceramic history, and the history of modern Japanese tea, by uncovering unpublished archives and lesser-known materials in Japanese art history.

Intensive research of Franks's archives at the British Museum, which included notes, correspondence, and invoices revealed the communication between Franks and hidden agents

for collecting Japanese ceramics and creating knowledge of teaware. Directories and diplomatic archives in Japan contributed to recovering the identity of one of the important dealers for his acquisitions, A&D Hare. Contemporary publications from museums, learned societies, international scholarly communities, and periodicals which had not been necessarily well-known to historians of Japanese art aided the recontextualization of his collecting of Japanese ceramics within a broader field of material culture studies, namely in ceramic studies, antiquarianism, ethnography, and Oriental Studies of the nineteenth century. The investigation of Philip Burty's archive at the Guimet Museum revealed French-British competition in acquiring Japanese objects and knowledge, which positioned Franks's collecting activity of Japanese ceramics in the international dynamics of collecting Japanese art in the 1870s.

The Maidstone Museum archive, which had never been studied in Japanese art history, illustrated the story of the making of the Marsham collection from two perspectives: Marsham and the museum. Marsham's unpublished correspondence, invoices, handwritten catalogues, and travel albums provided rich resources to identify lesser-known key Japanese agents for his collecting. Hayashi Shinsuke, one of the most significant Kyoto dealers, was given considerable attention for the first time in the history of Japanese art and art market studies. The archival survey of Kyoto's local newspaper from the beginning of the 1900s, a material survey of private and public collections of Japanese ceramics, and field trips to the accommodations where Marsham stayed, further embedded in this study a concrete picture of the environment of his collecting, supported by urban development, revivalism of Japanese pre-modern cultures, and Anglo-Japanese relations around the turn of the twentieth century. Museum reports and curatorial archives developed by Allchin, the curator of the museum, demonstrated that the Japanese ceramic collection was a hitherto unrecognized powerful tool

for branding the provincial museum when the museum was expanding its collection and facilities.

Archives as Mutual Memory

As a part of an empirical study of collecting, this thesis examined Marsham's travel albums. His albums, made in Japan, question the position of archives in the historical study as records. Because of the traces of collaboration in making the albums between Marsham and his Japanese friends, the albums were more than records of his experience. As his collecting itself was a collective process, the making of the albums was also a form of mutual communication. Recent scholarship has featured albums in the historical study of collecting as well as Meiji photography. Although these studies look at albums as new materials in modern Japan, this study connected the process of making travel albums with the continuity of pre-modern Japanese relationship building in the form of albums with new media. This study may expand possibilities in repositioning what is categorised as archives made in cross-cultural exchange. By interpreting them in different cultural contexts, new interpretations of the archives as objects can be possible.

Nineteenth-Century Antiquarianism and the Role of the Past

One of the contributions that this thesis has made is the re-evaluation of antiquarianism and the role of objects from the past in international exchanges about and of material culture. While antiquarianism is understood as a key concept for Victorian collecting, the thesis linked antiquarianism in the West and Japan in the 1870s as a relational system in the formation of a Japanese ceramic collection. Indeed, in the field of the study of Japanese ceramics, it is a well-known fact that the Japanese antiquarian Ninagawa popularised Japanese domestic ceramics among Western readers through his catalogues. However, the

parallels between Japan and the West in modern antiquarianism had not been fully discussed before. This research thus positioned antiquarianism as a source of common ground between scholars and collectors in the West and Japan from the 1870s that underpinned the development of the collections and the understanding of the objects.

Furthermore, beyond antiquarianism, which reflects a particular attitude towards the past, the thesis explored the role of the past in the shaping of values for tea ceramics. This expanded the fields of objects beyond scholarly circles, which led the thesis to discuss the Japanese ceramics market in connection with knowledge creation. For Japanese dealers, preservation and the selling of antiques were not conflicting ideas but a united way of transferring the past to the present. For art, design and even cultural reformers in Meiji Kyoto, antiques came to play a significant role not only in providing information about the past but also to innovate modern products and culture by going back to roots. Tōzan's revivalist attitude in his creation of Awata ware shows that examination of the past was the process of creating his identity. This phenomenon parallels revivalism in Britain, which connected to antiquarianism in both the academic and popular realms as well as the market.

Historiography of Japanese Ceramic History

As discussed in the introduction, the historiography of Japanese ceramic history tends to begin in the Taishō era because the discipline in Japan was being shaped during the early twentieth century. By focusing on collecting Japanese ceramics in the pre-disciplinary era during the 1870s to 1900s, this research contributed to the study of understudied periods and it re-evaluated multiple ways of interpreting Japanese ceramics by being attentive to obscure agents.

The observation of collection formation and knowledge-making in the period of a few decades shows that the transitioning focus of ceramic studies in Japan, from industrial history to art history, corresponds to the gradual shift in collecting, discussing, and presenting Japanese ceramics in Britain. This study showed that foreigners' collecting of Japanese ceramics, which had been treated as part of the realm of *Japonisme*, was, in fact, connected to the creation of Japanese ceramic history in Japan by material and intellectual exchanges. The demonstrated mutuality of the two sides encourages the comparative studies of the historiography of material culture in Japan and abroad.

The empirical study of Japanese ceramics through collections and archives also reveals that published narratives of foreign collectors represent only some aspects of the complex multiple understandings about Japanese ceramics for tea gatherings. The variety of ceramic works in the Franks and Marsham collections show that there are many works in the tonality between the two poles of the highly decorated and the rustic which were discussed in Morse and Bowes's debate about tea taste. Ceramics for tea in the two collections were collected from different points of interest not limited by the colour and enamel decoration. Franks's interest in forms, glazing, and ethnography, Marsham's affection for the Iwakurasan kiln and his close relationship with local agents in Kyoto—teaware in their collections demonstrates multiple layers of meanings and traces of interaction.

Limitations of this Research

This study does not present the values universally assigned to tea ceramics collected from the late nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. There are limitations in this study with the inevitable subjectivity of analysis and the number of examined cases. The networks described in this thesis became visible through writing from empirical research.

Therefore, the author as an observer of networks is unable to escape the criticism of subjectivity. However, what this thesis has presented is derived from the new approach of network analysis of two collections. More diverse roles and values can be revealed when more collections are researched in this way in the future.

To give one example, the George Salting (1835–1909) collection at V&A, famous for Chinese ceramics, includes a tiered food box with overglaze polychrome enamel decoration by Mokubei, a Kyoto potter famous for steeped teawares.⁹⁹¹ Collecting of Japanese ceramics in Chinese taste can also be seen in David Hyatt King's (1946–2015) collecting in the twentieth–twenty-first century. He was one of the most important donors for museums with collections of Japanese ceramics including the British Museum, the National Museum of Scotland, the Oriental Museum in Durham University, the V&A, and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. King's donation of Edo-Modern ceramics in many museums is now adding a new part to the picture of Japanese ceramic history. A large portion of King's collection is porcelain and many of them are steeped tea utensils. The last chapter of this thesis focused on the materials of earthenware and stoneware, but porcelain was also appreciated in tea gatherings. Therefore, in future research, the roles and values of porcelain in tea gatherings should be addressed to fill the gap in the discussion which emphasized stoneware and earthenware.

The Implications of Encyclopedic Collecting for the Twenty-First Century

In the mid-1870s, South Kensington Museum tried to connect antique objects scattered around Europe by describing them by category in a series of catalogues: the *Universal Art*

⁹⁹¹ Aoki Mokubei, Tiered food box decorated with fruits and scenes from Chinese mythology, porcelain with overglaze polychrome enamels, Width: 14.9 cm, 1810–30, V&A, C.1324-1910.

Inventory, for which Franks was a contributor. Before the age of the Internet, the equivalent of *Europeana*, a linked database of collections across Europe, was created manually on paper in collaboration with different scholars. Despite the fact that possessing is one of the stages of collecting, the scholars/collectors of the project appear to have created knowledge beyond institutions. The creation of collection cards, catalogues, and inventories by Franks himself and his colleagues, suggests an aspiration to collective knowledge made publicly available as he wanted an encyclopaedic collection of objects as knowledge formed through the interaction with many private scholars and donors.

The Franks and Marsham collections developed as encyclopaedic collections to demonstrate the diversity of Japanese ceramics. This style of collecting became obsolete and masterpieces became the focus of attention in the twentieth century collecting including Japanese art. However, twenty-first century research may be able to find more ways to evaluate overlooked objects. Online collection database development worldwide has a similar role to that of encyclopaedic collections. Both material-oriented references and online databases allow viewers to explore objects according to their interests. Diverse objects including those that did not receive enough attention can be re-evaluated through the browsing process. Materials continuously make connections to new audiences. The interaction between objects and information will lead to new questions to ask.

Appendix A: Brief Overview of the Franks and Marsham Collections of Japanese Ceramics

1. The Franks Collection, the British Museum, London

- Approximate number of the Japanese ceramics collection: 1,508 entries⁹⁹²
- Top ten types (Tea utensils underlined):⁹⁹³

Type	Number of entries
Dish	200
Bowl	180
<u>Tea jar (for whipped tea)</u>	<u>162</u>
<u>Tea bowl (for whipped tea)</u>	<u>124</u>
Sherd of vessel	106
Jar	101
Vase	80
Figure (including haniwa)	78
Bottle	61
Netsuke	59

- Utensils for steeped tea: 18 entries⁹⁹⁴
Main type: Teapots: 14 entries (including 1 miniature)
- Production date range: from the third century to the nineteenth century

Top five range of production date:⁹⁹⁵

Date	Percentage
19th century	44%
3rd–6th century	12%
18th century	11%
17th century	8%
6th century	7%

⁹⁹² As mentioned in chapter one, there is ambiguity of the definition of the Franks collection due to the undeveloped system of registration in the earlier periods.

⁹⁹³ The types are analysed based on the information on the museum's collection database as well as my surveys. The dish in this table includes, trays, and *mukōzuke* dishes.

⁹⁹⁴ Ewers in Chinese style, which are suitable for steeped tea gatherings are not counted as steeped tea utensils.

⁹⁹⁵ This range is based on 1,108 entries which are dated in the century on the museum's collection database. Some works only dated with the period (eg. Edo period) are not included.

1. The Marsham Collection, the Maidstone Museum, Kent

- Total number of the Japanese ceramics collection: 1,230 entries⁹⁹⁶
- Top ten types (Tea utensils underlined)

Type	Number of entries
<u>Tea bowl (for whipped tea)</u>	<u>172</u>
Bowl	135
Dish	121
<u>Tea jar (for whipped tea)</u>	<u>99</u>
Incense box	81
Vase	62
<u>Teapot (for steeped tea)</u>	<u>59</u>
Sake bottle	51
Cup	43
Sake cup	43

- Production date range: mainly from the sixteenth century to the twentieth century⁹⁹⁷

Top five range of production date:⁹⁹⁸

Date	Percentage
19th century	71%
18th–19th century	17%
17th century	5%
18th century	3%
20th century	1%

⁹⁹⁶ This information is based on the museum's collection database (not published online).

⁹⁹⁷ The museum database includes an entry registered as Neolithic.

⁹⁹⁸ This dating is based on 788 entries which I dated through surveys with the assistance of Professor Oka Yoshiko.

Appendix B: Transcription of Correspondences Cited in the Main Chapters

Notes:

The correspondences below were transcribed by the author.

The slash mark (/) is used to indicate a new line.

These transcriptions may include misread or illegible parts.

1. Franks Archive, Japanese Section, Department of Asia, British Museum, London.

Transcript 1: Letter from Nanjō Bunyū to Augustus W. Franks, 6 Feb 1880, Franks035. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

190, Cowley Road, Oxford./

Feb, 6, 1880/

Dear Mr, Franks,/

I thank you very / much for the valuable book which/ you gave me the other day./ I am very glad to see a proof/ of the Report on the Japanese pottery/ at South Kensington, which proof/ you enclosed. I have carefully/ read it over and made some notes/ on it. There are some proper names, which I cannot make out, unless/ I see the original writings either/ Chinese characters or Japanese/ letters. I have marked underneath/ all doubtful works in the proof with/ red colour. I enclose my notes/ on it, though they are rough.

(Second page)

Will you compare the marked/ works in the proof with my notes,/and judge whether I am right or not? If you allow me to/ see your introduction to this Report,/ I shall be glad.

Whenever you/ want to know about any Japanese/ mark and so on, please let me/ know, then I shall be very happy/ to assist you in my power, if I/ could make out what they are./

I have recently received a letter/ from my brother at home, in which/ he says that he has sent six Kiusu /or teapots (made at the port-town of/ Akasaka (red steep road), in the province/ of Mino, to Tokio, April 1st./ But, be sent them to a Buddhist temple/ called Konguwanzi; at Akasaka, in Tokio.

(Third page)

Because there are many friends of/ mine, who hold their office in this/ temple. Therefore, I have previously/ written to them, that if they received/ such teapots from my brother, they/ would at once send them to Mr./ Satow, at the British Legation,/ in Tokio. I thought this was the/ best way to send such things/ as teapots to Mr Satow safely. /But, since I wrote to my friends/ in Tokio, I have not yet got any/ answer from them so that I am/ rather doubtful aurous?, whether the teapots/ reached them or not? However, / I think, they already sent these/ things to Mr Satow; because, if they/ did not yet receive them from my/ brother, they tought to let me know.

(Forth page)

Then, if you got these teapots from/ Mr Satow safely, I hope you will/ accept them./

I am,/

Dear Mr. Franks/

Yours truly,
Bunyou Nanjio.

Transcript 2: Postscript to the letter written on 4 January from Ernest Satow to Augustus W. Franks, 7 January 1878, Franks028. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Yedo. Japan/
January 4, 1878/
My dear Franks,/
By the present mail I/ send you the second instalment/ of Japanese pottery. I have/ already

said that none of these/ are the originals from which/ Ninagawa took the illustrations/ to his books but are specimens/ of the same manufacture's as/ he has described and figured./ I have compared all of them/ with the corresponding numbers/ in the books and have found a/ marked difference in shape and/ sign only in one case. Enclosed

(Second page)

is a list from which you will/ see the prices of each. No 11/ was never more than fragments,/ of which Ninagawa had kept/ for himself the small bit/ that I now send you, he makes/ you a present of it. I also/ send you part 5 of his book,/ you seem to think that/ Ninagawa has presented you/ with the preceding parts, but/ it is not so; they are a slight/ return for the magnificent/ copy of Stanislas Julien's book which you gave me. A fortnight/ hence I will dispatch the/ remainder, that is the speci/mans of part 3, and perhaps/ may afterwards purchase

(Third page)

specimens illustrative of part 4/ and 5; if you are not horrified/ at the prices paid for what/ I have already sent. Ninagawa/ is going to publish a book containing drawings of specimens of Old/ Japanese woven fabrics, and/ has spoken to me of a collection/ of the specimens for sale. It/ might possibly interest South/ Kensington, and I accordingly/ have asked for the price./ He showed me a splendid/ Chinese work on antiquities/ in 23 folio volumes of Sotobo/ leaves each. Full of the/ most delightful cuts of Old/ sculptures on tombs, backs of/ mirrors, seals, bronze inscript/ions called 金石索 published in/ the first year of Tao Kwang.

(Fourth page)

Ninagawa asked 35 yen, but I/ think it might be obtained from/ Peking for less, if you have a/ correspondent there, and think it/ is a book that would suit you./

Many remembrances to Douglas./

Yours very Sincerely/
Ernest Satow/

P.S. Jan.7. I enclose an official letter/ informing you that we have elected you/ an Honorary

Member of the Asiatic/ Society of Japan, and hence forward/ I shall send you the proceeding regularly/ as soon as they appear./

E. S.

Transcript 3: Letter from Ernest Satow to Augustus W. Franks, 20 January 1880, Franks032. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Yedo/

January 20, 1880/

My dear Franks./

Ninagaha[sic] has brought out/ a sixth volume of his book on/ pottery, and I send you a copy by/ the hands of my fiend Mr. William Anderson, who is going to England/ by the same mail as this letter, to/ occupy the part of assistant/ Consulting surgeon to St Thomas's/ Hospital. I hope he will call/ upon you as soon as he has settled/ down, and you will find that he/ knows a great deal about Japanese/ things. Ninagaha[sic] offered me/ a portion of the original pieces/ signed in this 6th volume, of/ which I enclose a list, and I thought it advisable to secure them at/ once pa about £6, in case you

(Second page)

care to have them, for an a previous/ occasion, while I was referring to you,/ he sold the specimens of which I/ fancied I had secured the refusal./

He contemplates issuing a 7th volume, to contain Yamato, Akahada,/

Ahaji, Shido, Yazhima and Inariyama Ware, old specimens/ to the number of 34 or 35, which/ he will then offer to you for about/ £ 15, but as I have not yet seen/ them, I could make no proposals to/ him. Enclosed you will find a/ short list of what I have bought./

Anderson and I have in hand/ a book on Japanese and, about/ which he will tell you more/ details than can he put in a/ letter. It will include the history/ of each branch, pictorial.

Sculpture/ in bronze, wood, ivory and stone/ (very little of the latter) pottery and/ architectural decoration, besides

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an account of the motives, under/ the headings of Chinese, Buddhist,/ Shinto, Japanese history & legends, mythological geology and botany./ We propose to have a large number of illustrations, many of which/ will be native woodcuts from the/ numerous drawing[?] books, besides/ heliotypes. the negatives for which/ have been taken here, a few/ chromolithographs and whatever/ else may be found practicable./ Anderson has a collection of about/ 2000 Japanese and Chinese paintings/ of the best schools, and if we/ can get any of these reproduced for/ the book it will add much to its/ value. I think that in the way/ of bronze and wooden images we/ shall be able to make known/ many interesting things hitherto hidden/ from the eyes even of such wise/ and prudent men as Dr. Dresser and

(Fourth page)

Mr. Reed. If you can give us any/ aid by showing Anderson your own/ collections and helping him to see others/ we shall both be very grateful./ It is one thing to write a book,/ another to find a publisher, and/ I have no doubt Anderson will/ ask you for your advice on this/ point. I have been already in/ communication with Burty about/ a simultaneous publication in/ Paris, and he has expressed his/ willingness to aid us in seeing it/ through the press. Our reason for/ thinking of a French edition is that/ we believe the illustrations/ could he executed much better in/ Paris, and the same of course/ could he supplied to the English edition. If we find a publisher,/ I shall come to England as soon as/ all is ready to assist in revising/ the proofs, as these will be a large

[The rest of this letter is missing]

Transcript 4: Letter from Frank Dillon to Augustus W. Franks, 20 December [1876?], Franks039.

13 Upper Phillimore Gardens,/ Kensington. W.

December 20/

Dear Mr Franks,/

I send you by the/ same post as this, a copy of/ the Handbook to the Japanese/ Section of the Philadelphia Exhibition./ The article I spoke to you about/ last night is by Dr Funk, and/ there is a translation of it to be

(Second page)

found in the Japan Mail/ for August 21st. If you/ have any difficulty in finding the/ paper I shall be very glad lend/ you my copy./

Believe me/

Truly yours/

F. Dillon/

A. W. Franks Esq[?]

M.A. [illegible]. [illegible].

Transcript 5: C. J. Todd, Note on ceramics, attached to Augustus W. Franks's notes, Franks058. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

About 40 years ago a citizen of/ Hakodate started a porcelain/ factory there with a shipload of/ clay obtained from Arita. It was not a [illegible] and when the ship-/load was exhausted the factory/ closed. The pen rest and water drop/ bottle is a specimen. It is a model/ of Hakodate. The hill in outline and/ the houses painted in the foreground./⁹⁹⁹

————/

The plate of Satsuma ware made/ in imitation of tortoise shell is/ called Betsu Kafu yaki. The manu-/facture was discontinued about 1870./

————/

The greenish vase with storks etc/ was sold to me as Koda yaki but I/ can find no record of such ware.¹⁰⁰⁰

Transcript 6: Letter from Ernest Satow to Augustus W. Franks, 24 March 1877, Franks021. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Yedo/

24 March 1877/

⁹⁹⁹ The magistrate's office of Hakodate began Hakodate ware to develop its regional industry. According to the study of Kumagai Hiroyuki, the Hakodate kiln was opened by certain Tameji and Adachi Iwaji from Mino, current Gifu prefecture. See Ono Yūko 小野裕子, 'Hakodate yaki 函館焼', in *Kadokawa Nihon tōji daijiten* 角川日本陶磁大辞典 [Kadokawa the encyclopedia of Japanese ceramics], ed. Yabe Yoshiaki 矢部良明 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2002), 1102.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Kōda yaki (Kōda ware) is an alternative name for Yatsushiro ware, which was produced in Kōda, Naragi, Kikudashidani in Yatsushiro region in current Kumamoto prefecture from the 17th century. See Tokunaga Sadatsugu 徳永貞紹, 'Kumamoto no yakimono: hi no kuni no tōji bunka 熊本のやきもの—火の国の陶磁文化—', in *Kumamoto no yakimono: Kumamoto jishin fukkō kinen tokubetsu kikaku ten: kinsei kara gendai made, hi no kuni no tōji bunka* 熊本のやきもの: 熊本地震復興祈念特別企画展: 近世から現代まで、火の国の陶磁文化, ed. The Kyushu Ceramic Museum 佐賀県立九州陶磁文化館 (Arita-machi: The Kyushu Ceramic Museum 佐賀県立九州陶磁文化館, 2017), 133.

My dear Franks,/

I have only been here/ a fortnight, which must be/ my excuse to you before. By the/ best English mail via Southampton,/ I sent you a copy of Part I/ of Ninagawa's work on pottery,/ with the translation, and you/ ought to receive it in a day or/ two, from my brother in law./ A. J. Allen, 13 Idol Lane, E.C./ I give you his address in order/ that you may be able to make/ a row, if you do not get it/ at once. As soon as the trans/lation of part II is ready, you/ shall have a copy of each. They

(Second page)

told me here at the Legation/ that a copy of Pt I has been/ sent to the B.M, but I thought/ you would want one for yourself./ Ninagawa has only 4 or 5 copies/ left of the Japanese of Part I/ and none of the translation./ He says that the cup and/ saucer you sent him are/ Owari ware (Nagoya), about/ a century old, the design/ resembles Imari, but he/ recognises them by the clay./ He requested me to thank you/ very much for both porcelain/ and the catalogues, which/ he regrets not being able to/ read. You will probably/ hear a great deal about/ Japanese porcelain and/ faience from Dr Dresser,/ when he gets back. It has/ not been my fortunate to meet/ him yet, but I hope to do

(Third page)

so before he leaves. He seems to/ have delighted the people at/ the Legation. I find that Von/ Gutschmidt, the German/ Secretary of Legation and/ Saumarez, our 2nd Secretary,/ are both collecting, and the/ former has already sent home/ a large quantity, by which/ he expects to make much/ pelf, I am told. Also, an/ American named Stevenson/ is collecting at Nagasaki; I/ saw his collection, which/ contains some very fine/ Imari vases and jars, but/ little except from Kiushiu./ For my own part, I shall be/ in no hurry to buy until/ I know more. If may inter/est you to know that the/ highly decorated Satsuma/ earthenware does not date/ further back than 1807; I/ have this from several inde/pendent sources, namely/ Ninagawa and various potters

(Fourth page)

of the neighbourhood of Kagoshima, which pleased visited on my way here./ The white or cream coloured Satsuma ware/ dates back to a period between/ 1624 and 1644. The potteries/ there were founded in 1598,/ Corea potters having been/ brought there by the Prince/ of Satsuma on his return/ from the expedition against/ that country; for a long time/ they only made coarse/ brown pottery. The white/ clays not having been yet/ discovered. But specimens of/ white Korean pottery at least/ 500 years ago exist, and Nina/gawa has two. I will try to/ get some for you, if you/ care for that sort of thing./ Ninagawa is going to publish/ 5 parts in all, and I think/ his book will be a good

(Fifth page)

deal better than Bowes and/ Audsley, who are writing/ in the dark. Ninagawa/ observed to me today that/ the Japanese had scarcely/ any original art, having/ done nothing but copying Chinese,/ Indian & Corean. The very/ diaper patterns which/ are ascribed to the Japanese/ are Chinese. Wherever you/ see a Chinese mark on a/ Japanese bowl or plate,/ you may be pretty certain/ that the whole thing is an/ imitation, not made with/ the object of deceiving, but/ because they could do nothing/ better. And truly, whenever/ of late years, they have/ deserted the beaten track/ and tried to think for/ themselves. They seem only/ to have produced nauseous

(Sixth page)

monstrosities. Ninagawa is/ going to write on lacquer/ when he has completed/
 the great pottery work, and/ then on ivory carvings. We/ would delight you if you/ knew him.
 What a pity/ you cannot get a mission/ to visit there parts, beginning/ with China./
 Believe me/
 Yours very truly/
 Ernest Satow

**Transcript 7: Letter from Ernest Satow to Augustus W. Franks, 11 Oct 1877,
 Franks030. © The Trustees of the British Museum.**

Yedo/

October 11. 1877/

My dear Franks./

By this mail I send you a/ small box containing the Japanese/
 books on antiquities which you asked for in your letter of the/ 11 July, and duplicate copies/
 of parts 4 & 5 of Ninagawa's/ book on pottery to replace those/ which had suffered from
 damp/on their voyage home. As these are/ going in tin, it is to be hoped/ that they will arrive
 in good

(Second page)

order. The case contains also/ a collection of photographs of/ the castle of Yedo, in a volume/
 similar to these on pottery, presented/ to you by Ninagawa, and some/ pieces of pottery, of
 which a list/ is enclosed (7 pieces). The articles/ marked with a cross I purchased/ from him,
 as specimens of certain/ manufacture in parts 2 and 3 of his/ book, he charge about £3 for
 them;/ then the three books on antiquities/ cost about 10 or 12 shillings, but/ I will send you
 an accurate account/ some other day. Ninagawa makes/ no progress with the French
 translation/ of his book, for what reason is

(Third page)

an unrevealed mystery. He is away/ on a hunting tour (often his own sort/ of game), but when
 he returns I/ will bully him to bring out the/ remainder, and threaten to publish/ it in English
 myself, which is quite/ possible with impunity, as there is no/ Copyright Treaty between
 Japan/ and England. Then, I want you/ to do me a favour. You will find/ four sheets of
 blotting paper like/ stuff in the box, which contains/ specimens of two kinds of Japanese/
 grasses, and I want you to get/ the learned in botany in the Museum/ to determine them for
 me. I have put/ the Japanese name on a slip of paper

(Fourth page)

inside each sheet, and if I can/ get the scientific equipment; it/ will make me happy for the
 rest/ of my life. Also I have taken the/ opportunity of sending two packets/ to my booksellers
 Sotherans & Bo, which/ I pray you to forward by Parcels/ Delivery a courier or any other
 means/ of conveyance that may be most/ convenient. Finally, there is a box/ Containing a
 Japanese [illegible], which/ my friend <name>Mr. Hanawa</name>, a learned/ native,
 desires to present to the Museum/ Library; will you be so good as to/ hand it over to the
 proper Department./ I think the terracotta figures in

(Fifth page)

the books on antiquities have been/ dug out of graves. It seems that/ in early time the
 Japanese like/ the Chinese, buried living men and/ women at the graves of chieftains,/
 but the custom was given up in/ the prehistoric period, and clay/ figures substituted. The

potters who/ made them, came, according to the/ legend from the province of Idzumo./ Such figures have also been dug/ up in the vicinity of Kiôto. There/ are a few words about these images/ on pp. 115 and 116 of lot 1. of Vol/ VI. of the Transaction of the/ Society of Japan, which I hope/ has already reached you. It would

(Sixth page)

be a capital subject for a man/ of an antiquarian and studious/ turn to take up, but we are/ not fortunate enough to possess/ such an individual. Most of/ the Europeans here occupy their/ leisure in playing lawn tennis, drinking/ sherry and fliting[sic] with their neigh-/ bours wives, and know as little/ of Japan as if they had passed/ all their lives in London tasting/ tea in Mincing Lane or gambling/ in stocks in Capel Court. I do not/ for my part believe in the sup-/ posed connection between Japan/ and Mexico. Even if a few/ Japanese junkmen were cast away

(Seventh page)

on the pacific coast, they had no/ women, and how they can have/ begotten any descendants is inapplicable,/ unless these castaways were / thither at an early period when/ the human race came still be/ propagated by fissure. Fusang/ of which legend writes was/ for more probably Japan,/ and a legend native has written several volumes to prove it./ Besides, the Mexicans seem to have/ had some spontaneous capacity/ for civilization while the Japanese/ never invented anything for/ themselves, as far as we know at/ present. Please urge Douglas to

(Eighth page)

Complete his catalogue of Japanese/ books, and to send me a copy; I suppose/ the B.M. gives them away; and also/ a copy of the Chinese catalogue would/ be very useful to me./

Yours very truly/

Ernest Satow/

P.S. I see Sir R. Alcock has written/ a book on Japanese art, and that/ an ingenious person in the Atheneum/ has quietly annihilated him by/ showing that all of it came from/ China. Of course it did. The/ Japanese have made slight attention,/ as all copyists will, and have launched/ out further than the Chinese in certain/ branches, like caricature, to which

(Nineth page)

this peculiar natural character/ drives them, but as for their having/ an original uncontaminated/ indigenous out of their own,/ such an assertion is utterly/ ridiculous.

Transcript 8: Letter from Ernest Satow to Augustus W. Franks, 14 June 1877, Franks024. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

British Legation/

Yedo/

14 June 1877/

My dear Franks,/

In a short time I/ shall send you two more/ parts of Ninagawa's work/ on Japanese pottery, and/ one or two old cups which/ he wishes to present to you,/ besides a few other/ specimens which may/ interest you. Ninagawa/ told me yesterday that he/ wishes to sell his collection soon as the book is/ out, for the making of/ which he bought the/ pots and jars, so I asked/ him to give me a list

(Second page)

of prices to send to you so/ that you may have your/ choice. And I will buy to/ persuade him not to part/ with anything until you have had an opportunity/ of taking either the whole/ or what you want. The/ same Ninagawa asked if/ there exists a good illustrated/ European work on stone/ implements, he fancies/ he has discovered two forms/ hitherto not described./ When you set about/ forming the ceramic/ collection you spoke to/ me of just before I left,/ will it be your chief

(Third page)

object to illustrate form,/ or uses, or do you wish/ merely to get together master/ pieces of beautiful pottery/ and porcelain according to/ either European or native/ taste. If the collection is/ confined to the former two/ objects it will be easy to/ make and cost little./ The purchase of Nina-/gawa's collection would/ be sufficient probably/ to illustrate the history of/ the manufacture. By the/ way Ninagawa, who is/ bitter with the historical/ method, lacks of treating/ lacquer and pictorial/ art in the same way; also

(Fourth page)

Japanese architecture/ & furniture. I hope he/ will stick to his purposes./ Believe me/
Yours very sincerely/
Ernest Satow.

**Transcript 9: Letter from Ernest Satow to Augustus W. Franks, 8 Oct 1877, Franks025.
© The Trustees of the British Museum.**

Yedo.

October. 8. 1877/

My dear Franks,/

I hasten to reply to your/ letter of August 16 authorising/ me to buy Ninagawa's collection/ for you for whatever sum made/ £300 which it may be worth, but/ you have already heard that he/ sold the original of the figures in/ his book to another person, and/ are in possession of his pieces for/ the second collection. He lunched/ with me yesterday, and I tacked/ of going to see the pieces, but at/ present I do not think of/ concluding any purchases till I/ hear from you in reply to my/ letter of August 24. He has

(Second page)

brought me various articles of no/ great value which he desires to/ present to the British Museum,/ the most curios things being some/ modern impressions of the earliest/ copper plate engraving done in/ Japan about a hundred years/ ago. If there are any books in/ Japan on the art of pottery, I/ will try to obtain them. Nina-/gawa says there are none, but he/ may be unhelpful. I am afraid/ that the only books containing/ the crests of the nobles and the/ ordinary lists of daimio and/ kuge, but you shall have/ these. I am sorry to hear that/ Douglas has been ill, but it must/ be allowed that the Atmosphere/ of the Museum is enough to/ destroy the strongest condition./ Remember be to him, and please

(Third page)

say that I am anxiously looking for/ a copy of his Japanese catalogue in/ a & a to know what books the/ Museum possesses, and what it/ ought to have./

Believe me./

Yours very sincerely/

Ernest Satow

Transcript 10: Letter from Ernest Satow to Augustus W. Franks, 19 January 1879, Franks031. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Yedo/

January 19. 1879/

My dear Franks,/

Your letters of Nov. 1/ arrived by the last French mail./ Ninagawa tells me that Ahrens/ & Bo through whom he arranged/ the printing of the French/ translation of the pottery book/ have, without consulting him,/ shipped the whole edition of/ parts 3, 4 and 5, off to Europe./ I do not believe that Ninagawa/ was ignorant of their intention,

(Second page)

for his behaviour about a/ certain part of his collection,/ the refusal of which he had/ promised me for you, shows/ that he is a knave. It was to/ this very Ahrens & bo, who are/ represented here by a German/ Jew named Bair, that he sold/ the specimens, and yet he told/ me at the time that he had/ been obliged to part with them/ to a Japanese friend. If I can/ manage to get hold of a copy,/ I will send it to you. Ninagawa/ has been lately at Kiôto, and/ brought back as presents some/ modern imitation of ancient

(Third page)

articles, some of which he wishes/ me to send to you, when there is/ an opportunity. Their chief value/ will be I suppose in their fitness/ for destroying all your confidence/ in the genuineness of real antiques./ I will send them together with/ Mr Nanjio's teapots, when they turn up./ Perhaps you will be able to/ buy Ninagawa's translations/ in Europe. Ahrens & Bo deal in/ Knupp guns, bandy photographs,/ broadcloth and capôtes Anglaises/ or anything else the Japanese/ Government may require here, and/ in Europe sell Japanese curiosities./ Ahrens himself is somewhere in

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Europe./

Yours very truly/

Ernest Satow/

P.S. I am very angry with both/ Ninagawa and Bair, as you may/ infer from this note.

Transcript 11: Letter from D. J. Hare to Augustus W. Franks, 19 July 1877, Franks Archive, Japanese Section, British Museum, Franks066. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

16. Fitzroy.st. Fitzroy L9/

London July 19/77/¹⁰⁰¹

Dear Mr. Franks/

Thanks for your letter/ recd this morning and/ the list I will enclose in/ my letter to my brother tomorrow/- mail day - with further/ particular instructions/ to be most careful in descriptions/ & in pieces selected. I am/ anxious that pieces/ imported by me are at all on [illegible]/ [illegible] at they are represented/ to be; & I am always obliged/ to you when you point out/ a mistake./ Of course no.341 I shall/ be most happy to exchange/ agst real old Satsuma or other ware/ or to take back, and the/ same with any no. wrongly

¹⁰⁰¹ The slash between 19 and 77 follows the original document and does not means a new line.

(Second page)

described./ The small sample in next/ Invoice is not half the / cost and is perhaps two [illegible]/ [illegible]. It is described Lot 503/ "Cha.iri[sic]" Tea holder "Made/ at Satsuma (on reliable/ authority) 300 years old./ I have not seen it but it/ seems to me to be very cheap/ to be genuine./ I left your book the/ day following at the British/ Museum./

Yours sincerely/

D. J. Hare/

Lot 276. 2 plates & ware/with the present at the Museum.

Transcript 12: Invoice from D. J. Hare to Augustus W. Franks, 22 March 1877, Franks066. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Augustus W. Franks Esq Dr[?]/

To D. J. Hare/

		To <u>Curios purchased</u>	£ s d
[Checked in pencil]	Lot 145	Chinese red yaki jug on stand in box	5.0.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 147	" [Chinese] soba yaki vase in box	4.0.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 148	" [Chinese] red yaki vase streaked / with purple with corners on stand	3.0.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 153	Bronze Hibachi	1.0.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 156	do vase	2.0.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 157	do do	1.10.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 158	small Chinese porcelain blue and white box	0.10.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 159	Negoro[?] lacuer round box	0.5.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 161	Chinese white & blue porcelain shell	0.6.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 163	" [Chinese] porcelain plate	0.5.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 166	" [Chinese] Kochi? plate, brown 0.5.0	0.5.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 168	" [Chinese] small sometski vase/ in box being old	2.12.6
[Checked in pencil]	" 176	Purple yaki vase on stand in box	4.10.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 181	5 Chinese small saucers	0.7.6
[Checked in pencil]	" 182	3 "[Chinese] cups	0.10.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 189	Japanese round porcelain box	0.15.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 185	Curious porcelain small bottle Old Chinese	0.15.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 187	Japanese porcelain box	0.7.6
[Checked in pencil]	" 192	Old Kutani porcelain box	1.1.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 196	2 Chinese plates old	0.16.0
		Carried	£29.15.6

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2

		Brought forward	£ s d
			29.15.6
[Checked in pencil]	" 198	5 old Chinese cups	3.0.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 204	Old Chinese green Kochi bowl & stand	1.10.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 206	do Namako vase	3.3.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 208	small porcelain cup leaf shape	0.2.6
[Checked in pencil]	" 210	Japanese plate	0.10.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 212	2 Chinese plates	0.14.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 213	2 do do	0.12.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 218	Old do Hibi yaki plate	0.12.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 222	" do Namako cup	0.10.0

[Checked in pencil]	" 223	soba(yaki) Hi-iri[sic]	0.10.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 224	Hiroshima yaki "Fude tate"	0.10.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 228	Higaraki[sic] old bottle	0.7.6
[Checked in pencil]	" 229	Sometski Chinese bottle	0.7.6
[Checked in pencil]	" 232	Old Kutani sake bottle	0.5.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 235	Chinese sometski Koro	0.10.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 236	3 [illegible] saucers very old	0.5.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 239	Black porcelain koro	0.15.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 234	Chinese ruri yaki dish	0.8.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 241	Chinese Kochi vase	3.0.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 242	2 old Chinese cups	1.0.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 244	Old Chinese plate 5 clawed dragon 552 yrs/ 552 years old [annotated in pencil]	1.0.0
[Checked in pencil]	" 258	Very old do 550 "[yrs]	1.0.0
	Etc Σ		£50.0.0

London March 22nd 1877/

D. J. Hare

**Transcript 13: Letter from J. Lyons to Augustus W. Franks, 18 Oct 1878, Franks067.
© The Trustees of the British Museum.**

Importer of Foreign Goods J. LYONS[stamp]/

20, Charterhouse Street. Holborn Circus,/

London, E.C. 18th Oct: 1878/

My dear Sir,/

I much regret that I/ should not have written you/ before but I have been so/ much engaged
that I have not/ really had the time to do so./ the information that I am/
able to give you about Cha ire/ &c is as follows: -/

73/2 Cha ire – no particulars/

125/4 Cha wan. Brown. Corea 250 years./

122/6 Cha ire. No particulars/

98/7 " [Cha ire] Setto Kuisuri[sic] Gama 250 years/

100/2 " [Cha ire] Setto[sic] Tetsugi 250 "/

100/3 " [Cha ire] Setto Kinsuri[sic] Gama or Kama 250 "/

100/4 1 Cha ire. Tamba Yaki 200 years.

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How the numbers have become/ duplicated I am at a loss to/ imagine./

I have not yet been able to/ ascertain about "Oribe"/

I am/

Yours truly/

A. W. Franks Esq J. Lyons/

P.S. I have not yet found/ lithographs of Cha ire.

**Transcript 14: Letter from Nanjō Bunyū to Augustus W. Franks, 6 February 1880,
Franks035. © The Trustees of the British Museum.**

190, Cowley Road, Oxford./

Feb, 6, 1880/

Dear Mr, Franks,/

I thank you very / much for the valuable book which/ you gave me the other day./ I am very glad to see a proof/ of the Report on the Japanese pottery/ at South Kensington, which proof / you enclosed. I have carefully/ read it over and made some notes/ on it. There are some proper names, which I cannot make out, unless/ I see the original writings either/ Chinese characters or Japanese/ letters. I have marked underneath/ all doubtful works in the proof with/ red colour. I enclose my notes/ on it, though they are rough.

(Second page)

Will you compare the marked/ works in the proof with my notes,/and judge whether I am right or no/not? If you allow me to/ see your introduction to this Report,/ I shall be glad. Whenever you/ want to know about any Japanese/ mark and so on, please let me/ know, then I shall be very happy/ to assist you in my power, if I/ could make out what they are./ I have recently received a letter/ from my brother at home, in which/ he says that he has sent six Kiusu /or teapots (made at the port-town of/ Akasaka (red steep road), in the province/ of Mino, to Tokio, April 1st./But, be sent them to a Buddhist temple/ called Konguwanzi; at Akasaka, in Tokio.

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Because there are many friends of/ mine, who hold their office in this/ temple. Therefore, I have previously/ written to them, that if they received/ such teapots from my brother, they/ would at once send them to Mr./ Satow, at the British Legation,/ in Tokio. I thought this was the/ best way to send such things/ as teapots to Mr Satow safely. /But, since I wrote to my friends/ in Tokio, I have not yet got any/ answer from them so that I am/ rather doubtful aurous?, whether the teapots/ reached them or not? However, / I think, they already sent these/ things to Mr Satow; because, if they/ did not yet receive them from my/ brother, they tought to let me know.

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Then, if you got these teapots from/ Mr Satow safely, I hope you will/ accept them./ I am,/ Dear Mr. Franks/ Yours truly,/ Bunyou Nanjio.

Transcript 15: Letter from Nanjō Bunyū to Augustus W. Franks, 6 Feb 1880, Franks034. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

59, St. John Street, /Oxford,/

Friday, 4th April 1879./

Dear Sir,/

I have been a long/ time without coming to see/ you, and learning of you./ I left London at the end/ of February last, and/ since I have lived here,/ for the purpose of studying/ Sanskrit. Previously,/ I fully intended to begin/ this study in London, but/ unfortunately I could not/ find any teacher there.

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At length, however, I got/ the great opportunity of com/ing to see Professor Max/ Müller here, having had/ a letter of introduction to/ him from Dean Stanley./ Then, the Professor very/ kindly received me so one/ of his pupils, and advised/ me to live here. Therefore,/ at once, I did so, and began/ the study under the instruction/ of some tutor to whom the/

Professor for kindly introduced/ me./
 Before I left London,/ I ought to have called on/ you to offer my best thanks

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for your kindness, during/ the time, that I lived there./ but, in fact, I had had a/ very bad cold,
 so that even/ after I came here, I could/ not work for the space/ of ten days. However,/ I am
 now quite well,/ and find there are two/ matters, which I must/ tell you./

1. When you had previously/ wanted to know something/ about the marks of the/ Japanese
 porcelain and/ several other things, I had/ always had the honour of/

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helping you with my little/ power, in their explanations./ But I am very sorry to say,/ I am
 now unable to do so; but/ at the same time, there is/ a friend of mine, whom/ you know very
 well./

His address is/ K. Kasawara,/ 22, South Hill Park Gardens,/ Hampstead,/ London, N.W./
 On the day before I left London,/ he told me, that he would/ be very glad to see you when/
 you wanted to give any/

[The rest of this letter is missing]

**Transcript 16: Letter from Nanjō Bunyū to Augustus W. Franks, 16 October 1878,
 Franks033. © The Trustees of the British Museum.**

St. Alban's Cottage/ North End Road,/Hammersmith Road,/West Kensington.

16th October 1878/

Dear Sir,/

I am very sorry I/ have been a long time with/ out writing to you, and/ now I must tell you
 some/ thing concerning your pre-/vious request about some/ Japanese tea-pots-Onko/
 Daiga[sic] and Sekisen, &c.,-

(Second page)

which are made in the pro/vince of Mino, in Japan./ Last month, I wrote to my/ father and
 brother, who are/ now living at the town/ Ogaki, in the province,/ at a distance of only one/
 'Ri' or a Japanese mile/ from the manufactories/ of the tea-pots at a post-/town named Akasaka/
 (red steep-road); in which/ letter I have especially

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and clearly stated that/ they should without delay/ send the before mentioned/ tea-pots to your
 friend/ Mr. Satow at Tokio, re/questing him to send them/ to you. This is the matter/ which I
 have already/ promised you to do./ Therefore, now I wish,/ you would at once write to/ Mr.
 Satow about this, and/ again I must say that I

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have sent the enclosed/ address to my family/ for the purpose of putting/ on the box of the
 tea-pots/ so that you will also/ send this copy of the address/ to Mr. Satow, as the proof./
 Hoping you are well,/

I am,/

Yours very faithfully/

B. Nanjio.

2. Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum, Kent.

**Transcript 17: Letter from Henry Marsham to Maidstone Museum, 1 December 1882.
© Maidstone Museum.**

[Junior Carlton Club's letterhead]

Dec 1st 1882./

Dear Sir/

Yesterday I instructed/ Messrs King & Co to send/ the five cases containing/ my Japanese things to/ Maidstone addressed/ to you;/ I think that I shall/

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be able to go to Maidstone/ on Monday 8th, when/ if it suited your convention/ we could open the cases/ & select what you can/ [illegible] worthy of being/ exhibited./

I am dear Sir/

Yours obediently/

Henry Marsham.

**Transcript 18: Letter from Henry Marsham to J. H. Allchin, 2 November 1907. ©
Maidstone Museum.**

The Gonikai Hotel, Ltd.

YAMADA, ISE, JAPAN. [letterhead]

Yamada, Nov 2nd 1907

The Curator/

Maidstone Museum/

Dear Sir/

I write line to say that I hope progress is being made with the arrange=ment of my collection, also to tell you/ that within the last few days two Japanese/ friends of mine have expressed a desire to contribute something to the Museum, and to ask you to inform me whether the/ Museum authorities would gladly accept/ such contributions./

When last I saw you mentioned that a/ letter acknowledging the gift of a piece of/ Hagi pottery to the Museum, was due/ to Mr S. Hirooka. On enquiring of him/ whether he had received such letter he/ told me that he had not – as Japanese/ keenly appreciate such recognition I/ hope you will send it to him at your

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earliest convenience. The letter may be/ addressed c/o Miyako Hotel/ Kyoto./

It is becoming pretty widely known in Japan/ that my collection finds an abiding place/ in the Maidstone Museum, & it is very probable/ that some Japanese will wish to see it; on/ that account I am anxious whenever a/ catalogue is made that mention showed be/ made of the names of donors. This/ information I hope to be able to supply/ on my return next summer./ Hoping you may find time to let me have a/ few lines, more especially in regard to/ proffered donations./

I am yours faithfully/

Henry Marsham

Transcript 19: Invoice from S. Hayashi to Marsham, 23 August 1905. © Maidstone Museum.

S. HAYASHI./
 DEALER IN/ OBJECTS OF ART./
 TEL. NO. 113. L.D./
 39 FURUMONZEN, KYOTO,/JAPAN.
 TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:/ HAYASHI, KYOTO. [letterhead]

Kyoto, August 23rd 1905./
 Honbl Henry Marsham./Weaving House/ Maidstone, England./
 No. 1. Case

1	Flower Vase	White Jade	15	
1	Tray	Bamboo work	20	
2	Cups	Porcelain	10	
1	Incense Box	Lacquered	20	
1	" "	Porcelain	10	
1	Flower Vae	Porcelain	60	
1	Cake box	Carved Red lacquer	40	
1	Figure	Wooden	5	
1	Cigarette Box	Lacquered	4	
1	Sake Cup	"	20	
1	Incense Box	"	2	50
1	" "	Wooden	15	
1	Box	Silk Work	5	
1	Snuff Bottle	Glass Ware	3	
2	Daggers		15	
1	Incense Box	Wooden	10	
1	" "	Inlaid with mother of pearl	5	
1	Tea kettle	Lacquered	8	
1	Bell	Bronze	5	
1	Basket	Bamboo	3	
4	Tsuba Sword-guards	Iron & Silver	55	
1	Knife-handle	Shibuichi	10	
2	Seals	Bronze	8	
		Car'ed	363.	5

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Kyoto, August 23rd 1905./
 Honbl Henry Marsham./

#2

			Brought	363.	50
HM	1	Hair pin	Gold	2	
	2	Charms	Chrystal	2	
HM	2	Ornaments	Cloisonne	2	
	12	Rings	"	110	
HM	10	Buttons	"	5	

	1	Sake Cup	Lacquered	1	
	10	Netsuke small carving	Wooden & Ivory	47	
	1	Incense Box Ofuku	Wooden	4	
	1	Box Fushidaka	Lacquered	1	
	1	Incense burner Hotei	Bronze	26	
	1	Figure Doll		25	
	1	Flower Vase	Porcelain	50	
			Total yen	638.	50

S. Hayashi (signature)/ Kyoto/

S. HAYASHI/ KYOTO/ JAPAN/ AUG 23 1905/ TEL, NO. 113/ FINE ART CURIOS
[stamped]

Transcript 20: Invoice from S. Hayashi to Henry Marsham, 31 July 1906. © Maidstone Museum.

S. HAYASHI./

DEALER IN/ OBJECTS OF ART./

TEL. NO. 113. L.D./

39 FURUMONZEN, KYOTO,/JAPAN./

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:/ HAYASHI, KYOTO. [letterhead]

Kyoto, July, 31st, 1906./

Honorable Henry Marsham,

c/o The Curator/ The Museum/ Maidstone England./

	List of contents for seven # I/7 cases of		
	curios		
	Case # 1/6		
371	pieces of porcelain & Earthen ware		
	Case #7,		
2	Ivory carvings		
9	Pieces of wooden work		
1	Porcelain Bowl		
4	Paintings		
22	Pieces of Bronze wares		
3	Glass Cups		
2	Dolls		
		Yen	5000 00

S. Hayashi

Transcript 21: Letter from Anne Marsham to J. H. Allchin, 1 March 1909. © Maidstone Museum.

March 1st 1909./

4. Church Crescent/ Parkstone/ Dorset/

Dear Sir,/ I see in the Report you/ have kindly sent me, that/ Mr. Hirooka has presented/ a cake bowl to the Museum,/ perhaps you may have/ already sent him a copy/ of the Report, if not, I/ am sure it would give/

(Second page)

Him great pleasure if you/ would send him one, as he would like to see the/ appreciation expressed/ at the collection of Japanese pottery given/ by my brother. Mr Hirooka/ was a very great help to him in getting specimens/ of rare kinds. I think the/ Miyako Hotel Kyoto, would/ always find him as he was/

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so well known there./

I have read with great/ satisfaction what you/ have written about the/ collection in your Report./

I remain, dear Sir/Yours faithfully/

Anne Marsham/

To, the Curator/ Museum Maidstone

Transcript 22: Letter from Henry Marsham to J. H. Allchin, 14 December 1906. © Maidstone Museum.

[Miyako Hotel's letterhead]

Kyoto, December 14th 1906

The Curator/ Museum, Maidstone/

Dear Sir/

I am much obliged for your letter of Nov 2nd, in which you report progress/ made. That only two pieces in the/ six cases have suffered on the journey/ is proof of careful packing./ I would prefer that you did not attempt/ mending until I have seen the broken bits./ If they are pieces of exceptional interest/ I would have them mended in this country./

The case containing Iwakurayama goes in/ a ship leaving Kobe on the 20th inst./ a few more pieces of that of other wares will follow./

I think it will be desirable to 'weed' the/ collection – there are too many examples/ of certain Kyoto wares./ perhaps it would be possible to persuade some other Museums in Kent or elsewhere to take over the/

(Second page)

superfluous objects./

I hope to be in England before May 7 by/ that time I expect you will be thorough the unpacking of most of the cases./ Then we could look through the things, and consider what would be best to do./

A rough copy of the map showing the/ positions of the most celebrated potteries/ is finished; this I propose to have repro=duced in more finished style on my return./

Fine & rare things are very expensive now: recently/ a Ninsei tea ceremony cup was bought at auction/ for £ 1600 (sterling). I was not the purchaser./

I am yours faithfully/

Henry Marsham

Transcript 23: Letter from Henry Marsham to J. H. Allchin, sent with first consignment list of the Marsham collection, 18 February 1906. © Maidstone Museum.

[Miyako Hotel's letterhead]

Kyoto, February 18th 1906/

The curator, the Museum, Maidstone/

Dear Sir/

I enclose bills of landing for 3 cases containing pottery which are on the way to London,/ Also a list of contents giving some information as to/ where the pieces hail from, approximate age and in some instances, the names of the potter who made them./ Most of these pieces are connected with the tea cere-/mony and the tea ceremony occupies a place in the life of the cultured Japanese of the old school of the/first importance. The names of the pieces used in/ the ceremony are as follows./

Cha ire.	Tea jar
Cha wan	" cup
Mizusashi	water pot
Chakin tsu tsu	napkin holder
Futa oki	stand for lid of pot
Kogo	incense box
Oven Furo	oven. Kama pot which serves as kettle
Kashibachi	cake bowl
Tsuri hana ike	hanging flower pot.

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2/

The tea jar which may/ appear to you a mean little pot is more treasured & valued/ by the chajin of tea ceremony devotees than were the/ bejewelled snuffboxes carried by the beauty of Europe a hundred years ago. The tea cup in almost, perhaps I might say, as much as object of adoration./ I mention these facts lest you should think that I am/ burdening the Museum with a cartload of rubbish./

The names of the potters are very perplexing. Some times they/ have three for example Ippodo received from his patron or Daimyo the name of Suminokura it was known in early life as Yoichi./

In my list you will notice red cross marked against/ certain pieces. These are sings of excellence./ The letter R indicates rarities./ Some small things of minor importance are to be bound in my collection. They have been given to me as presents./

If you read the list from right to left taking Description first and Province last. I think you should grasp what I have attempted to explain. For example no 268/ "A hanging flower pot in the shape of an eggplant/ made about 1850, at pottery known as Oniwayaki/

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3/

At the town of Wakayama/ In the province of Kishiu./

I hope in the course of a few months to be able to reveal/ you a map showing the principal pottery centres./

I think it would be well to exhibit the tea jars by themselves/ incense boxes ditto, tea ceremony cups ditto. Tea pots do./ The Bizen, Awata, Kiyomizu, and Oniwayaki of/ Kishu should be arranged in groups./

With regard to tea jars, many of these are in bags made/ of rare old silks: at Japanese exhibitions it is these/ custom to exhibit the silk bag alongside the jar, and a good custom it is to make the bag lid up they stuff it lightly with cotton wool – the most precious jars are also/ borrowed with a box made of hard wood or wood lacquered/ there also should be placed near their respective jars – the box standing behind the jar & bag.

[See Fig.117 for his illustration]

Many of the boxes in which the pieces of pottery are enclosed/ are worthy of being cared for in as much as inscribed on/ them are guarantees of the genuineness of the contents./ Each box & each piece has a number attached/

(Forth page)

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corresponding to the numbers/ in the list./

These three cases will be followed by other three cases in a few weeks time – there will remain in this country of my collection, perhaps as much more which I propose to forward in the course of the year./

I have accumulated more than I expected to and/ perhaps it would be best for you to separate boxes marked, with red cross or better R, or curious from/ the rest and deal with them first, making an ex-/ception in favour of tea jars. I should like the whole of them to be exhibited. It however you prefer to unpack the lot, I have no objection. If labels get rubbed/ off the boxes, please renew them./

If there is in any information I can give you/ further, please ask for it.

My book of reference on Japanese Pottery I/ can not share so long as I am in Japan./

The British Museum should be able to afford some assistance.

- I am dear Sir/

Yours faithfully/

Henry Marsham

Transcript 24: Letter from Henry Marsham to J.H. Allchin, 24 May 1905. © Maidstone Museum.

[Miyako Hotel's letterhead]

Kyoto, May 24th 1905/

The Curator/ The Museum/ Maidstone/

Dear Sir/

I have lately received your letter of/ March 20th with enclosures (Report for years/ ended Oct 31th -1904 and List of a portion of the/ Articles Deported by me at the Museum)./

I notice that a tall red vase (Sang de boeuf?)/ is not inscribed in the list of porcelain./

Netzukes in ivory & wood have yet to be/ added, also man things in lacquer – a white/ wood cabinet etc. At type written list/ would satisfy all my requirements-/ your description of the articles is adequate/ so far as I am concerned, but should not/ be so regarded by those who are responsible/ for the management – of the Museum;/ the use of a Museum, if I am correctly/ informed, is to instruct and edify,/ therefore I should imagine it is highly/ desirable that every article which is exhibited/

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II/

there should have attached to it a label/ fully descriptive and correct in every detail./ In order that such labels may be made out/ it is absolutely necessary that the authorities/ who are responsible for the management of/ the Museum should give you the assis=/tance of exhibits. (Experts in thieving/ should be carefully avoided)/

I have written to Mr George Marsham/ requesting him to inform the afore said/ authorities that under certain condition I/ am proposed to depose at the Museum a/ collection of Japanese pottery, a few pieces of porcelain,/ as yet I have had no reply./ It is nothing approaching to a complete/ collection, (a single example of each pottery/ that exists or has existed in this country would/ make a total of perhaps more than one thousand)/ but I believe that there does not exist/ in any provincial Museum in Great/

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Britain a more representative collection of/ Japanese earthenware amongst the number/ there are examples which I venture to say/ are not to be bound in the National Museums./ so I think that my offer is deserving of serious/ consideration./

The 'Neolithic bowl' lately dug up in the Cherry/ Orchard is a very interesting discovery. it/ correspond exactly in shape of appearance to/ many Tea Ceremony Cups which are as highly/ prized in this county, with all proper/ certificates & guarantees of genuineness attached/ a collector in this country would pay a very high/ price for it. I should be very much/ obliged if you would send a copy of your Report 'with my compliments' to Professor E. S. Morse/ Museum of Fine Arts/ Boston/ U.S.A.

(Forth page)

Hoping to receive a further instalment of/ 'the List' before very long./

I am/

Yours my truly/

Henry Marsham

Transcript 25: Letter from Henry Marsham to J. H. Allchin, 7 July 1906 © Maidstone Museum.

Kyoto, July 7 1906/

The Curator/The Museum. Maidstone./

Dear Sir/

This morning I received your letter of/ May 26th informing me of the safe arrival/ of six cases and hope the contents have not/ suffered in the journey./ In the course of a few days I hope to send/ you other six cases. /When those are sent off I shall have nothing/ remaining except a collection of Iwakurayama/ pottery, about a hundred & eighty five pieces/ none of large size, including specimens of/ nearly every kind of dish & utensil used in this/ country. They vary in shape & decoration./ Professor Morse describes it as "the most delicate/ of Awata Pottery". The exact date when the/ pottery was first established I have not as yet/ been able to ascertain for certain, but it certainly existed from 1805 to 1870./ I believe I am justified in saying that/

(Second page)

2

my collection is unique./ It seems that it has never occurred to any/ Japanese that there is any particular merit/ in this pottery, in their eyes it has a/ defect. It is pretty and highly finished. /The British Museum has a few pieces, so has the/ Boston Museum, but I venture to say that com=/pared with my best examples, they are nowhere./ probably the authorities of those Institutions/ would be of a different opinion. /This collection I will send to Maidstone/ if you can give me an assurance that it/ will be properly exhibited. It should have/ a case to itself./ I think that when I return to England I may be/ able to suggest some 'weeding' out from/ the large number of pieces I have sent,/ and possibly a home might be found for/such at some

other Museum./I should be glad to hear from you as to/the Iwakura collection as early as possible./

(Third page)

3

I shall be sending/ a mixed lot of things in addition to the pottery: bronze, iron, copper, wood, glass/ not very many bits & hope you may be able/ to house them./

I am Dear Sir/

Yours faithfully/

Henry Marsham

Transcript 26: Letter from Henry Marsham to J. H. Allchin, 9 October 1906, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum. © Maidstone Museum.

[Miyako Hotel's letterhead]

Kyoto, Oct 9th 1906/

The Curator/Museum & Public Library, Maidstone/

Dear Sir/

I have to thank you for your letter of August 28th/ and the photograph of the case. The latter appears to be/ very suitable for the purpose for which I is required./ I will forward the collection of Iwakurayama pottery/ shortly. Reliable information concerning the ware/ is hard to obtain, with the assistance of my Japanese/ servant I have been making enquiries for a long/ time and have not got much forwarder./

It may surprise you to learn that even the Curators/ of the Osaka & Kyoto Museums are unable to supply/ me with the information I desire./

My collections are not insured, and I have no/ intention of insuring them./

I am leaving Japan in Dec. ber, should you have/ occasion to write to me you can obtain my address/ by applying to Lady Anne Marsham. Weaving House./ Maidstone./

I am Dear Sir/

Yours faithfully/

Henry Marsham

Transcript 27: Letter from Henry Marsham to J. H. Allchin, 29 December 1907, Marsham Archive, Maidstone Museum. © Maidstone Museum.

[Miyako Hotel's letterhead]

Kyoto, Dec 29th 1907/

The Curator/ The Museum Maidstone/

Dear Sir/

You may remember that I gave you a set of/ the marks which are to be found on pieces forming/ the Iwakurayama collection./

At the present time I very much want them for purposes of comparison & reference & should / be greatly obliged if you would send them/ to me. On my return I will restore them/ to you./

I should like to obtain photographs showing/ different parts of the Museum, internal and external / in the shape of a small Album, paper/ binding, & inexpensive to give as presents to Japanese friends. If a photographer would take the/ risk of producing such I would buy several/ copies./

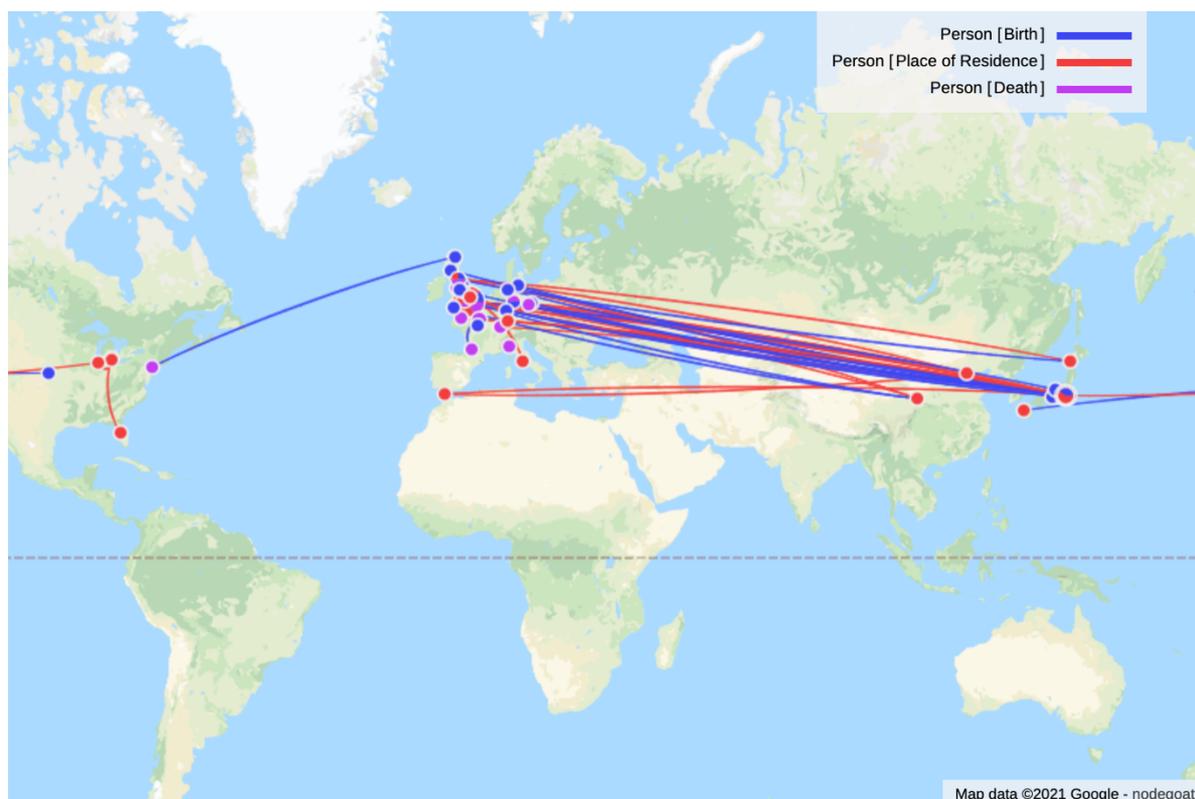
Quite a small case would hold the additions/ I have made to my collection, and I am/

(Second page)

hopeful that the number will not be much/ increased when I start on my homeward/ journey./
Hoping you are well and that 1908/ will be kind to you./
I am yours truly/
Henry Marsham

Appendix C: Internationality of Agents Related to Franks's Collecting of Japanese Ceramics

As discussed in chapters two to three, international agents shaped Franks's collecting of Japanese objects. The map below shows the movement of 38 individuals and companies who were involved and mentioned in the correspondences sent to Franks, preserved in Franks Archive, Japanese Section, Department of Asia, the British Museum.



Map 1 The place of birth, residence, and death of people who were involved or mentioned in correspondences send to Franks. By Author.¹⁰⁰²

Dataset for Map 1

Name	Capacity	Event	Date	Location	Relation
Ahrens, Heinrich	Merchant	Birth	1842	Lilienthal	Mentioned
		Residence	1869–71	Tokyo	
			1871–4	Europe	
			1876–8	London	
		Death	1886	Yokohama	

¹⁰⁰² The map only visualises key locations and not all movements of each individual were traceable. I created this map on P. van Bree, G. Kessels, nodegoat: a web-based data management, network analysis & visualisation environment, 2013, <http://nodegoat.net> from LAB1100, <http://lab1100.com>.

Alcock, Rutherford	Diplomat	Birth Residence Death	1809 1844–56 1858–64 1865–71 1869	London China Edo Beijing London	Mentioned
Allen, Arthur John	Satow's brother in law	Residence Death	1873–77 1911	London Oxford	Mentioned
Anderson, William	Surgeon Collector Professor	Birth Residence Death	1842 1873–80 1900	London Tokyo London	Mentioned
Audesley, George Ashdown	Architect Collector	Birth Death	1838 1925	Elgin Bloomfield	Mentioned
Behr, Martin	Dealer	Birth Residence Death	1841 1869–70 1870–81 1904	Frankfurt am Main Yokohama Tokyo Paris	Mentioned
Bowes, James L.	Merchant Collector	Birth Death	1834 1899	Horsforth Liverpool	Mentioned
Burty, Philippe	Critic Collector	Birth Death	1830 1890	Paris Astaffort	Mentioned
Clume[?]	Dealer	Set a booth	1878	Paris International Exhibition	Invoice issuer
Charles Dickens & Evans	Publisher	Work address	The 1870s– 90s	London	Sender
Dillon, Frank	Artist	Birth Death	1823 1909	London	Sender
Douglas, Robert Kennaway	Curator Professor	Birth Residence Death	1838 1858–1865 1913	Devon China London	Mentioned
Dresser, Christopher	Designer Dealer	Birth Residence Death	1834 1876–7 1904	Glasgow Japan Mulhouse	Mentioned
Franks, Augustus W.	Curator	Birth Residence Death	1826 1826–39 1839–49 1850–1897	Geneve Rome Cambridge London London	Receiver
Funk, Hermann	Teacher	Birth Residence Death	1844 1873–76 1888	Germany Tokyo Germany	Mentioned
Gutschmid, Felix von	Diplomat Collector	Birth Residence Death	1843 1875–80 1905	Kollm Tokyo Dresden	Mentioned
Hanawa	Donor	Residence	1877	Japan	Mentioned
Harding, G. R.	Dealer	Work address	The 1880– 1900s	London	Invoice issuer

Hare, A&D	Dealer	Work address	1872–78	Tokyo	Invoice issuer
Hare, D. J.	Dealer	Residence	1872–7 1877–8	Tokyo London	Sender
Julien, Stanislas	Scholar	Birth Death	1797 1873	Orléans Paris	Mentioned
Kasawara, Kenju	Monk Scholar	Birth Residence Death	1853 1876–79 1880–82 1883	Toyama London Oxford Tokyo	Sender Mentioned
King, A. C.	Editor	Work address	1880	London	Sender
Lyons, J.	Dealer	Work address	The 1870s	London	Sender
Minakata, Kumagusu	Scholar	Birth Residence Death	1867 1883–6 1886–8 1888–91 1891 1892–1900 1941	Wakayama Tokyo Michigan Ann Arbor Florida London Wakayama	Sender
Minoda, Chōjirō	Dealer	Residence	1855–9 1859	Edo Yokohama	Mentioned
Nanjō, Bunyū	Monk Scholar	Birth Residence Death	Ōgaki London Oxford Japan	1849 1876–9 1879–84 1927	Sender
Ninagawa, Noritane	Officer Scholar	Birth Death	1835 1882	Kyoto Tokyo	Sender Mentioned
Reed, Edward	Naval architect	Birth Residence Death	1830 1879 1906	Sheerness Japan London	Mentioned
Satow, Ernest	Diplomat Scholar	Birth Residence Death	1843 1862–83 1893–5 1900–2 1929	Wismar Tokyo Tangier Beijing Ottery Saint Mary	Sender
Saumarez, James	Diplomat Collector	Birth Residence Death	1843 1876–80 1937	London Tokyo Guernsey	Mentioned
Schefer, Charles-Henri-Auguste	Scholar	Birth Death	1820 1898	Paris	Mentioned
Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn	Clergy Scholar	Birth Death	1815 1881	Alderley Edge London	Mentioned
Stevenson	Collector	Birth Residence	? 1877	U.S. Nagasaki	Mentioned
Todd, C. J.	Clergy Collector	Birth Residence	1855 1890–92	U.K. Hakodate	Sender

		Death	1835	U.K.	
Wareham, W.	Dealer	Work address	The 1870–90s	London	Invoice issuer
Whitehead, Thomas Miller	Dealer	Birth Death	1825 1897	London	Invoice issuer
Willson, Sam	Dealer	Work address	1880	London	Invoice issuer

Appendix D: Marsham's Travel Albums

1. Details of the Albums

Yano Suihō et al., annotated by Henry Marsham, Album of paintings by Kyoto artists, cover embroidered with floral scroll in gold thread, endpaper with gold-foil pieces, Maidstone Museum, Kent, MNEMG.1931.30(1).

Description of pages from right to left:

1. Right: Yano Suihō, Painting of Hotei with a fan. Colour on silk. Annotated by Marsham 'Hotei by Sui hoo'.¹⁰⁰³
Left: Painting of a melon. Colour on silk. Annotated by Marsham 'by Suiho'.
2. Yano Suihō, Painting of cherry blossoms in front of a house. Annotated by Marsham 'Double heads tree. Kanju in – memory of Imperial Family, Ginkakuji village.'
3. Words by Itō Tōzan, 'Mashiyāmu[sic] shi shuku kichō (Celebrate Mr Marsham's return to Japan)', painting of *oharame*, by Taniguchi Kōkyō, Ink and colour on strip paper.
4. Itō Tōzan and 連城 Renjō, Group paintings on a fan with design of flower, leave and hat, celebrating victory [probably of Russo-Japanese war] and Marsham.¹⁰⁰⁴ Colour on paper. Signed and marked '連城 Renjō'.
5. Itō Tōzan, Painting of ceramics with Tōzan's signatures and stamps. Colour on paper. Annotated by Henry Marsham 'Tozan Ito's pottery treasures painted by him.'
6. Right: Painting of bird. Colour on strip paper.
Left: Painting of birds, Colour on silk.
7. Painting with design of flower. Colour and silver leaf on fan shaped paper. Five photographs of Hayashi family. Annotated by Marsham 'Miss Hayashi' and 'Hayashi'.
8. Noguchi Yūkoku, Fan painting sold by Miyawaki Kisen-an 宮脇貴扇庵, established in 1892.¹⁰⁰⁵ Portrait of a boy and a girl.

¹⁰⁰³ Yano Suihō 矢野翠鳳 (1870–1944) was born in Iyo, Ehime prefecture. He became a pupil of Takeuchi Seihō 竹内栖鳳 (1862–1942) in Kyoto and taught Shijō school painting to artists in Ehime. Ehime Kenshi Hensan Iinkai 愛媛県史編さん委員会, ed., *Ehime kenshi jinbutsu* 愛媛県史 人物 (Matsuyama: Ehime ken 愛媛県, 1989), 649.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Renjō is probably Ikken Renjō 一見連城, a painter and designer in Kyoto. His designs were published in periodic pattern books such as *Shin zuan* 新圖案 [New Designs], *Nishijin orimono shin zuan* 西陣織物新圖案 [New Designs for Nishijin Textiles], *Gonikai sihn zuan* 五二会新圖案 [New Designs by Gonikai] in the 1890s. Hiramitsu Chikako 平光睦子, 'Meiji chūki Kyoto ni okeru zuankai no katsudō 明治中期京都における図案会の活動 [Activities of Design Associations in Kyoto in the Mid-Meiji Era]', *DWCLA Human Life and Science*, no. 51 (February 2018): 35–44.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Noguchi Yūkoku 野口幽谷 (1825–1898) was a literati painter and a pupil of Tsubaki Chinzan (1801–1854). He was appointed as an Imperial Household Artist in 1893. Kabe Iwao

9. Itō Tōzan, Painting of prunus, bamboo and pine. Colour on paper. Meiji 37 (1904). Annotated by Marsham 'by Tozan Ito'.
10. Right: Itō Tōzan, Painting of Mt Fuji and pine on rock. Meiji 37(1904). Annotated by Marsham 'by Tozan Ito'.
Left: Photograph of Itō Tōzan. Painting of his incense container in shape of bird. Annotated by Marsham 'Tozan Ito'.
11. Inserted calligraphy. Two strips of paper with poems; a sheet of paper celebrating 90 years old, 1903; Extracts from the *Hundred Poems*.

Henry Marsham and anonymous photographers, Album of Travel Photography, cover embroidered with flower pattern in gold thread, endpaper with gold-foil pieces, 38.5 x 27.5 cm, Maidstone Museum, Kent, MNEMG.1931.30(2).

Description of pages from right to left:

1. Right: A photograph of wooden figures of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and his wife Kita-no-Mandokoro (Nene), 16th century, Kōdaiji temple, Kyoto. A photograph of Sambōin, Daigoji, Kyoto.
Left: A photograph annotated as 'Tori bi[sic] Yama Temple, built by Hideyoshi for his wife'. Realistic drawing of two leaves.
2. Right: Two photographs of Ganku's hanging scroll of tiger at Tobase[?] Kyoto'. A photo of Kiyomizu Rokubei's figure of a god of longevity.
Left: A photo of 'Road to Yamashina village.' A group photograph including Marsham and Hirooka taken at Daigoji.
3. Right: A photograph of a view from Miyako Hotel, Kyoto with Mt Hiei in distance.
Centre: A panoramic photograph of a view from Miyako Hotel composed of three pictures.
Left: A photo of cherryblossom at Sanbōin, Daigoji.
4. Right: A portrait of Fujii, an employee of Hayashi's shop.
Left: A photograph of a pagoda of Sanbōin, Daigoji. A group photograph of Marsham, his guests, Hirooka, and a monk of Daiigoji.
5. Right: A photograph of Bishamon-dō, Yamashina. Kyoto. A photo of its cemetery.
Left: A photo of Bishamon-dō cemetery. A photo of steps with lanterns. A photo of a panel with painting of Maruyama Ōkyo.
6. Right: A photograph of a man standing in Kimono, 'Tanaka son of Nishimura Jihei[sic] of Miyako Hotel'.
Left: A photograph of cherry blossom at Maruyama park, Kyoto. A photo of a seated man in kimono, 'Nishimura'. A photo of trees captured from Miyako Hotel.
7. Right: A photograph of a garden at Yamada, Ise. A photo of a priest's house, Nanzenji, Kyoto.
Left: A photograph of Marsham on a bridge and two Japanese women on rocks in the garden of Yamada, Ise. A photograph of two Japanese men, a woman and a child at the garden in front of two houses.
8. Right: Two portrait of 'Miss Tomi'. A portrait of Miss Tomi with her baby. A portrait of 'Mrs Tomi'. A portrait of 'Mrs Onizuka'.

加部巖夫, *Yūkoku Noguchi sensei shōden* 幽谷野口先生小傳 (Tokyo: Masugami Shōshi 益頭尚志, 1899).

- Left: A portrait of 'Kato, Chief Engineer Kyoto Electric Light Information'.
9. Right: A photograph of Shimogamo Shrine, Kyoto. A photo of an inn at Miyajima, Hiroshima.
Left: A photograph of Kamigamo Shrine, Kyoto. A photo of 93-years old 'Shogetsu—an, nun living at Yamabana', Kyoto.
 10. Right: A photo of the shoin at Reikanji, Kyoto. A photograph of four nuns at a corridor of the temple. A photo of Rokujō Tokuzen, 'lady Superior of Rei Kanji'.
Left: A photographs of four nuns at the garden of Reikanji. A noshi folded paper. A bilingual name card of 'Tokuzen, Rokujo 靈鑑寺門跡六條徳全'. A photograph of Tokuzen and a nun at the garden of Reikanji.
 11. Right: Three photographs of Kiyomizu Temple, Kyoto.
Left: A photo of Kiyomizu Temple. A photo of the pagoda of Yasaka Shrine, Kyoto. A photo of 'Gateway to Gion Temple Kyoto' with a signboard of the Triumph Memorial Exhibition of Domestic Products, 1906.
 12. Eight photographs of a festival at Fushimi Inari Shrine, Kyoto
 13. Right: Two photos of 'Shirakawa near Kyoto'. A photograph of Okayama park covered with snow. A photograph of 'Suo Bridge – Kintai bashi near Hiroshima'.
Left: Three photos of 'Silver Pension', Higashiyama Jishōji.
 14. Right: Three photographs of rapids. A photograph of Marsham and 'Thorn Ton' walking near a bridge. A group photograph of them, Miss Kiyo[a?] and Mrs Hayashi.
Left: Six photographs of 'Kodzu[sic] rapids'.
 15. Right: Five photographs of Shimogamo Shrine's 'Festival Procession'. A photograph of 'Samurai of Shimo Kamo temple aged 93. 1906'.
Left: Two photograph of Myōshinji, Kyoto. A photograph of 'Hiyoshi Taisha – Taiko's Temple Kyoto.' A photograph of Maruyama park.
 16. Right: A photograph of Izumo Shrine, Shimane annotated as 'Shrine Kizuke'. A photograph of 'Curious tree'. A photo of Marsham walking with his stick at 'approach of shrine'. A photograph of Matsue Castle. A printed name card of Senke Takanori, the shinto priest of Izumo Shrine '出雲大社宮司正四位 千家尊紀'.
Left: A photograph of 'rocks on Tajima coast', Hyogo prefecture. A photograph of sea at 'Matsue', Shimane prefecture. A photo of 'Lake Togo of Hatsu sunset', Tottori prefecture. A photo of riverside at 'Katsuyama –Mimasaki[sic], Okayama prefecture.
 17. Right: Three photographs of Kōdaiji. A photograph of 'Priest's house', Chion'in Temple.
Left: A photograph of a nun standing at Reikanji. A photograph of a seated Buddhist figure of carved stone at Kurodani.
 18. Right: A photograph of 'Kinkwazen[sic] Benten temple', Iwate prefecture.
Left: A photograph of stairs at Kinkazan temple.

Henry Marsham, S. Hirooka, and anonymous photographers, Album of Travel Photography, clothed cover, endpaper with gold leaves, c.1906, 38.5 x 27.5 cm, Maidstone Museum, Kent, MNEMG.1931.30(3).

Description of each page from right to left:

1. Right: Two photographs of people who cared Marsham at inns at Matsue, Shimane prefecture and Togo, Tottori prefecture, both in San-in region of West Japan.
Left: A photo of 'Macaroni merchant's boy – Takeo' and a tableau vivant of 'Geisha disguised as a maid servant – Hinaga'.
2. Right: Four photographs of geisha and maids at Ichiriki teahouse and Miyako Hotel, Kyoto.

- Left: Three photographs of maid servants at Miyako Hotel, Kyoto
3. Right: A snapshot of a man carrying goods on a pole, a photo of people carrying *mikoshi* at Owase in 1882, of 'shool girls passing Awata Gosho' taken by Hirooka in 1905, and a portrait of a man of 1906.
- Left: Four pictures of 'groups taken at Awata below[?] Miyako Hotel'.
4. Right: Four photographs taken at Yoichi, Hokkaido in 1906. Two photographs show Ainu at Yoichi region. The other two are the views of a river, one of which has a bridge.
- Left: Two photographs of river at Higashiyama, Aizu Wakamatsu, Fukushima prefecture. Two photographs taken at Izaaka [sic], one of which shows Marsham sitting at a side of a house.
5. Right: Four pictures of 'Nagano children 5 . . . taken by Hirooka in garden of Miyako Hotel 1906'.
- Left: A photograph of a blossomed tree, a photo of Nagano children playing shamisen and posing, and a photo of two nuns at Reikanji.
6. Right: Four photographs taken at 'Wakasa Noto 1906'.
- Left: Five photographs of 'Hikone 1906', one of which shows many men in white uniform, possibly British navy.
7. Ten pictures of Jidai matsuri, Kyoto, 1906.
8. Right: 'Five pictures taken at Nara showing the catching of stags for sawing off their horns. an annual custom. Oct 1906.'
- Left: Two photographs of a koma-inu (guardian dog) believed to have been made by a legendary potter Tōshirō, 'the museum of Potter's Association', Seto, Aichi.¹⁰⁰⁶ Two photographs of river near Eigenji-temple, Shiga prefecture taken in 1906.
9. Right: Two photographs of an event raising a streamer in Kyoto. Two photographs taken at Asakichi Inn, Ise showing a scroll and a letter.
- Left: A photographs of Kinosaki hot spring. A photo of Gembudō cave. A photo of Hiyoriyama coast, Yushima, Hyōgo.
10. Right: Two photographs of Ritsuin park, Takamatsu. A photo of Dannoura, Shimonoseki Strait, Hiroshima. A photo of a shrine near Himeji, Hyogo. A photo of garden, probably Kōrakuen park, Okayama.
- Left: Six pictures of Mt Takao 'famous for maples near Kyoto'.
11. Right: A photo of the view from Miyako Hotel, and two photographs taken at a 'house of Adachi, Kyoto' which show chrysanthemum and a tea set for steeped tea.
- Left: A photo of Saijōsho Daigengū, Yoshida Shrine. A photo of a footpath to Komagatake. A photo of Higashiyama Jishōji (Ginkakuji). A photo of the cemetery of Chi'onin temple. They are all in North East and East Kyoto.
12. Right: Three photographs of Daikakuji, showing the entrance, Shinden Hall, and Chokushi gate.
- Left: A photograph of three men with silk hats standing in front of a shrine at Daikakuji, Kyoto. Marsham stands on the left. 'Shrine removed from Dainichiyama of Higashi Iwakura to Daikakuji, secret image therein stone figure of Amida, carved by Gyogi Bosatsu[sic], AD 729'. A photo of Ōsawa-no-ike, a pond in the temple.
13. Right: Three photographs of wooden Buddhist sculptures at Kōryūji, Uzumasa, Kyoto: Standing Thousand-armed Kannon, Standing Jizo Bosatsu (Umoregi Jizō), Miroku Bosatsu in half lotus position (Hōkan Miroku), and Standing Fukū Kensaku Kannon.¹⁰⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰⁶ This figure now in Fukagawa Shrine, Seto is designated as an Important Cultural Property.

¹⁰⁰⁷ All of these Buddhist sculptures are now designated as National Treasures and an Important Cultural Property.

Left: A photograph of a grave at Jōanji temple, for Kazariya Denbei, the potter of Iwakurasan kiln who deceased in 1770. Two photographs taken at Kinkai-Kōmyōji, one of which shows a stone figure of Amida and the other is ‘Grave of Denbei, ancestor of Kichibei Iwakurasan, at Kurodane[sic] cemetery’.

14. Right: Two photographs of a footpath and road near Sambō-in, Daikakuji.

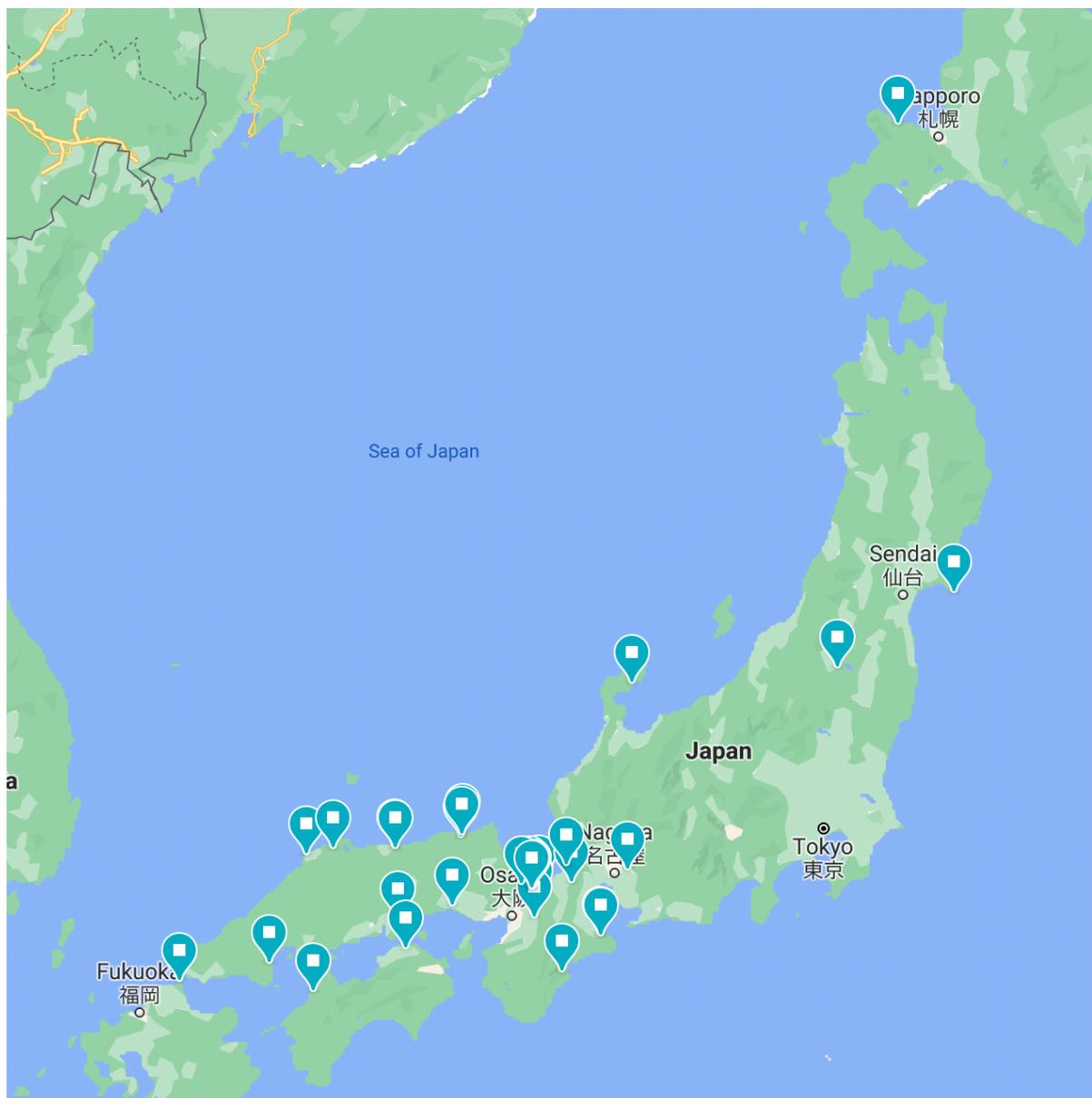
Left: Two photographs of Maruyama park covered with snow.

15. Right: Two photographs show Maruyama park with cherry blossom.

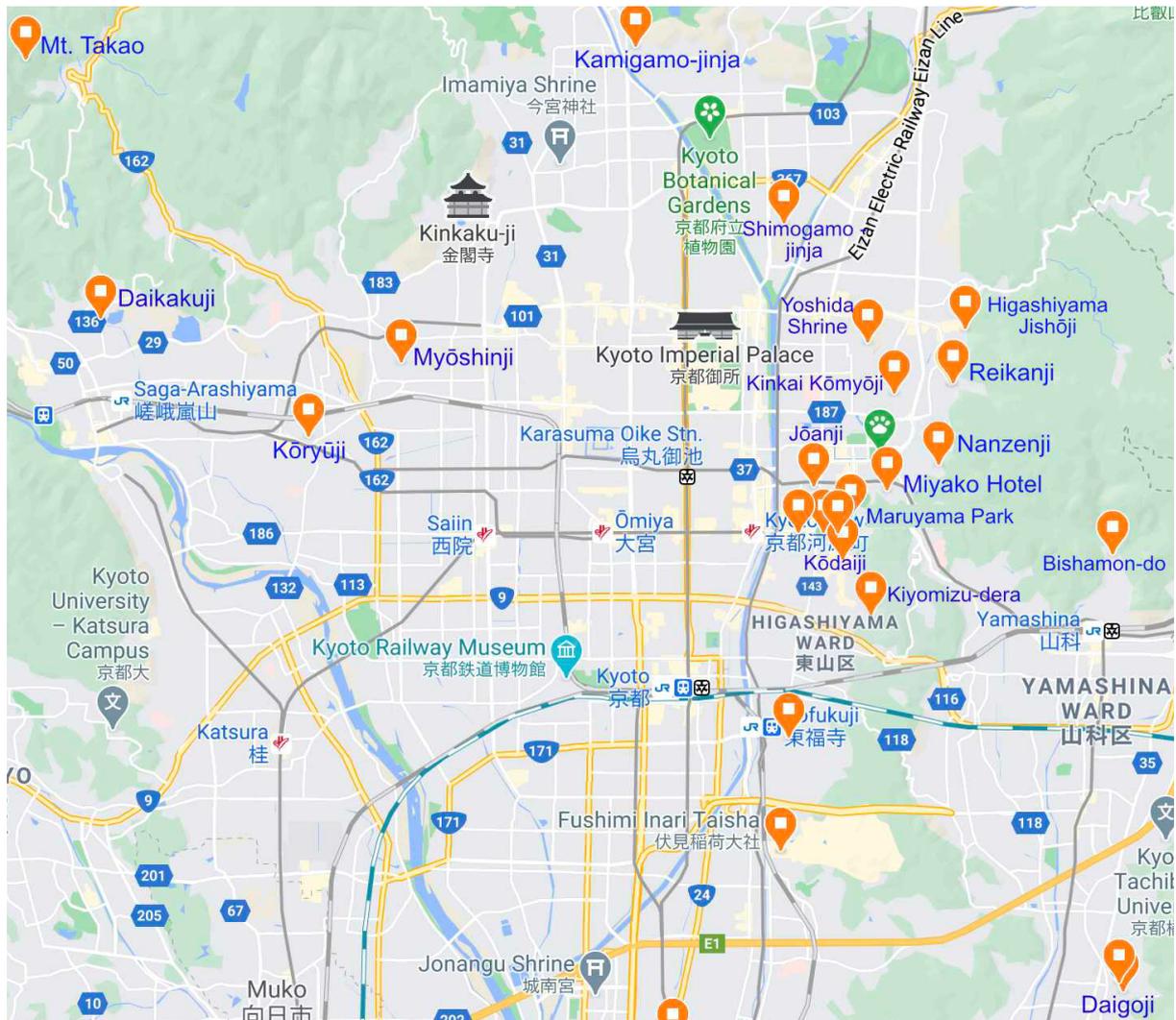
Left: Two photos of a cherry blossom in a temple and ‘Foot of Atago san, near Arashiyama’.

2. Marsham’s Travel Destinations

The two maps below show Marsham’s travel destinations photographed in his albums.



Map 2 Annotated by Author, Locations photographed in Henry Marsham’s travel albums, Maidstone Museum. Map data ©2021 Google. Accessed 23 March 2021.



Map 3 Annotated by Author, Photographed locations in Kyoto (flagged orange) in Henry Marsham's travel albums. Map data ©2021 Google. Accessed 23 March 2021.

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